FRAGIST

May, 1920

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(Incorporated 1918)

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SUFFRAGIST

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THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), that the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by legislatures of three-fourths of the several States.

"ARTICLE—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

METHOD OF AMENDING THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES
ARTICLE V.

"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the First Article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

An Editorial

AGAIN there is the chance for either of our two great parties to secure the credit for the thirty-sixth ratification of the suffrage amendment.

The Republican legislature of Delaware reconvenes after a twelve days' recess on May 5. Louisiana's Democratic legislature meets in regular session on May 10. One of these states may by prompt action bring to the party which controls it the honor of ending the battle for the political freedom of American women.

The women of the nation, awaiting the fruits of a century's struggle, will undoubtedly accord both Republicans and Democrats their just share of praise and blame for their part in the suffrage fight.

They will not forgive nor patiently overlook a further long delay in ratification caused by party politics and political manoeuvering for advantage.

Already such delay has cost women a substantial part, as far as the next elections are concerned, of the political equality for which they have fought.

While the Republican party has allowed ratification to be delayed for more than a month in Delaware, women have lost, in a number of states, the chance to help nominate the candidate of their party for the presidency. Primaries have already been held in twelve states. In only five did women participate on equal terms with men. In one state, North Dakota, they were allowed to vote only for presidential electors, and in one, Illinois, although they voted, a ruling of the state attorney general excluded them from the official count. In five states women took no part at all in the primaries.

Numerically speaking, compared with the (approximately) 4,000,000 women of voting age who have thus far been granted the right to enter primaries on equal terms with men, 6,000,000 have been partially or entirely excluded.

Further delay may bring ratification too late not only for primaries but also for election registration. In Georgia registration closes on May 1; in Rhode Island on June 30. Other states follow closely.

If the Republican party really wants women to vote it will see that the amendment is ratified by Delaware on May 5. If it wishes only to gain the appearance of helping, while in reality it throws every conceivable obstacle in the way of full political equality, it will allow the Delaware legislature to dally until a Democratic state shows signs of competition.

Drawn for The Suffragist by Nina E. Allender

"Mary, Mary, quite contrary
How does your garden grow?"

Delaware's Second Chance

The Recess of the Legislature Gives Time for New Efforts by Suffragists and Sober Second Thoughts by Legislators

DELAWARE will again consider the federal suffrage amendment to the Constitution on May 5th, when the special session called by Governor Townsend reconvenes after a twelve days' recess. As the climax of the intensive campaign which has gone on all over Delaware, the Republican state convention meeting April 19th in Dover, asked the state legislature to ratify suffrage immediately as a Republican measure endorsed by the state and by the nation. The resolution passed unanimously by the convention is as follows:

> "The proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States, now submitted to the states of the Union, providing for the enfranchisement of women, was adopted by our present Republican Congress and is an achievement of the Republican party. Its ratification by the states has thus become a question in which the national Republican party has a paramount interest. It is our view, therefore, that Republican state legislatures should realize the interest of the national Republican party upon the question of ratification. We therefore urge the Republican members of the legislature of this state, now convened in special session, to vote for the ratification of this amendment."

This apex of the suffrage ratification campaign in Delaware was as dramatic a suffrage coup as has been put over in any suffrage state since the battle for ratification by 1920 commenced nine months ago. When the governor of Delaware, an unswervingly Republican state, called the special session he stated that there were enough votes to carry the measure to success. The poll of the suffragists also indicated that the legislature would ratify. As soon as the session opened, however, it became apparent that many alleged supporters were wavering, and that a long and difficult campaign would be necessary before success could be won.

The premature vote in the Delaware House on April 1st, when the House voted down suffrage ratification, to onlookers unaware of the local situation, seemed to mean defeat in Delaware. But following the defeat and the vote for reconsideration, the little state was galvanized to the most acute suffrage life. Women who had never before given suffrage a thought for the first time went into the field to battle for their rights, to convert their representatives and to prove that Delaware must remain true to its historic tradition as the first signer for independence. The women of other states continued coming into the state to help. This was the signal for an anti-influx that led to a concerted attempt to pin a rose, red in color, on any and every unlabeled man and women in the state.

Spring Shows Suffrage Colors

Suffragists rallied to their colors. Combating the red paper flowers that sprinkled the state, the jonquils of the suffragists bloomed not only on countless coats, but also in countless dooryards, seeming to typify the reality of this last act of the long fight for liberty as against the unreality of the opposition, making its last stand.

Under the able chairmanship of Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, of New Castle, two headquarters have been continued all through the struggle by the National Woman's Party in Delaware, one in the state capital in Dover, and one in Wilmington, the population center of the state. A press campaign, brisk and efficient, radiated from these two centers; and into the three counties of the state, New Castle, Kent, the middle county, and Sussex, went organizers and speakers to capture the votes of the opponents who had carelessly belittled the mandate of their party.

Speaker Corbit's District

In New Castle county, Speaker Alexander P. Corbit, of Odessa, who had failed to vote in the House, heard the voice of his constituents. Middletown and Odessa suffragists gathered petitions and sent resolutions to Speaker Corbit following meetings arranged by Vivian Pierce, national organizer, at which Mrs. Hilles and Miss Mabel Vernon were the speakers. Mrs. Hilles also appealed in Delaware City and St. Georges to the constituents of Representative Edward Lester, Jr., at meetings arranged by Mrs. Whiteman, district chairman of the Woman's Party in Delaware City. At one of these outdoor gatherings Mrs. Hilles confronted Mr. Lester himself who listened with attention to Mrs. Hilles' direct political appeal. Petitions and resolutions also testified to the suffrage strength of the district.

Miss Catherine Flanagan, national organizer, Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Pennsylvania, national ratification chairman, and Miss Mary Dubrow, national organizer, cooperated with Mrs. Hilles in Kent county. While Miss Dubrow spoke at a series of open-air meetings throughout the district and organized meetings at which Mrs. Hilles spoke, collecting petitions and resolutions calculated to impress Representatives Snow and Hanratty of the suffrage strength of Kent county, Mrs. Lewis and Miss Flanagan kept in touch with the legislators themselves in Dover and supplied the papers of the state with the fluctuating suffrage news of the capital.

Dover Welcomes the Campaigners

It was Dover, not Wilmington, that became the suffrage center of the state. The quaint and charming little town, tradition haunted and proud of its traditions, flaunted the suffrage colors openly. Tradesmen, school children, housewives, as well as the members of the legislature, lined up for and against and "showed their colors." It was at Dover that was shown the suffrage strength of the state at the demonstration held on the day of the state convention following the climax of the county campaigns.

When the campaign opened there was comparatively little realization on the part of politicians throughout the

state that the matter was of very great moment. Of those who have been staunch supporters of suffrage, and especially of suffrage ratification in Delaware, former United States Senator Frank Allee has been one of the most indefatigable in his efforts. From the opening day of the legislature he has worked night and day and in every possible manner for ratification. His son, State Senator James Allee, has contributed work of great value within the legislature, declaring in the Republican caucus that he would support the measure for ratification if he were the only man in the legislature to do so.

Political Leaders Aid

After the defeat on April 1 men who had before done little or nothing for suffrage awoke to the necessity for action if Delaware were to be saved the disgrace of complete rejection of the Anthony amendment. Every political force in the state from that time on was actively mobilized. One of the strongest of these forces was Alfred Dupont, recognized as one of the greatest political leaders of the state and a tremendous factor by reason of personality, political and business standing. Mr. Dupont had long been known as a suffragist, and his wife was a member of and contributor to the Woman's Party.

Suffragists everywhere felt new hope when this leader entered the fight and put at the service of the work in Delaware the force of his own personality and of his political power. The *Morning News,* his own publication, has been a strong aid through its persistent advocacy of immediate ratification since he entered the arena on behalf of suffrage.

Others of the leading men of Delaware have also rallied to the standard since complete defeat first became imminent following the action of the House. Coleman Dupont, National Republican Committeeman, has made frequent trips back and forth from his offices in New York to the scene of battle in Dover. He has addressed the Republican caucus there and has done much through personal interviews with the individual legislators. Another member of the Dupont family, Mr. Pierre Dupont, has also given effective support. Daniel Layton, State Chairman of the Republican Committee; Elijah Lynch, Republican Chairman of Sussex; the chairman pro tem of the Senate, Adolphus Short, are other Sussex leaders who have been influential in the latter part of the campaign. Mr. Hirons, delegate to the National Republican convention, and Clerk of the House, has been unwavering in his loyalty.

It would be impossible to mention all of the friends of suffrage or even the most influential friends of suffrage who are now bestirring themselves in its behalf in Delaware. Among them are Secretary of State Johnson, former Governor Penniwell, Mr. Ruby Vaile of Milford, who came to Dover to address the Republican caucus on behalf of suffrage, Mr. James Shaw, newly elected member of the State Republican Committee from rural New Castle, United States Senator Ball, who spent over a week in Dover personally interviewing members of the legislature and speaking before the Republican caucus, Mr. Billeney, vice chairman of the Republican State Committee, Mr. Charles Grantland, member of the Republican State Committee, Congressman Layton, who spoke at mass meeting at Wilmington, and before the Republican caucus in Dover, Chairman Jones, of the Republican Committee of Kent, and Mr. Forraker, a leading Republican from rural New Castle, Deputy State Attorney General Green, and numerous others. All these men have been most earnest and it is in the cumulative result of

Suffragists Attend the Suffrage Debate in the Delaware House.
(Mrs. Hilles, Delaware State Chairman, and Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, National Ratification Chairman, in the foreground.)

Even the trees on Dover Green wore purple and gold at the Suffrage mass meeting on Convention Day

these efforts, in this month's campaign which has gone on since the first action of the legislature, that the hopes of suffragists lie.

In Sussex County, assisted by large committees of local women in Milford and Georgetown, Miss Elsie Hill, Miss Anita Pollitzer, and Miss Betty Gram, three other national organizers, held meetings and tested suffrage strength from two headquarters established in Georgetown and in Milford with results calculated to win the representatives of Sussex. Petitions and resolutions went from day to day to the Representatives at Dover. At the outdoor and indoor meetings at which Miss Hill and Miss Gram spoke, sentiment visibly swung toward a demand for ratification. Even the opposition meetings of the antis which were occasionally organized in reprisal were populated half by the forces of the yellow jonquil curious to view the ancient weapons of their adversaries, as out of date as the stocks still on view in Dover or the relic firing pieces that date back to the same revolutionary period.

Then came the State Republican convention in Dover at which delegates to the June national convention of the party were to be named, and an affirmative platform for the state drawn up. Suffragists determined that the county delegates should go instructed by their own constituents to call on the legislature for suffrage ratification as the redeeming of a Republican pledge. An attempt was made to see every delegate to the Dover convention. The Kent county delegates went to the convention all but unanimous for immediate action on suffrage.

To leave the legislature in no doubt as to the demand of the party for action on a party measure, suffragists determined to mass the suffrage strength of the state in Dover at the time of the conference and stage an all-day demonstration for its effect on both the convention and on the legislature.

The Great Meeting Convention Day

Under the direction of Mrs. Hilles, the suffrage story was visualized on the historic Dover green, fronting the little colonial capital of the state and surrounded by charming colonial houses dating back to the days of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. An ideally beautiful spring day made the gay little green with its background as immaculate as a newly painted stage. Set in the middle of the green was a platform decorated in the purple, white and gold of the Woman's Party. Tri-colored banners were unfurled from the trees, and automobiles bearing the same spirited banners early in the day began to pour in from every county. A solid bank of cars flying the suffrage colors, many floating golden balloons, shut in the square, which soon filled with men and women from all parts of the state. The red rose of the antis suffered complete eclipse. It was an all-suffrage occasion.

Among the women who spoke from the center stand were Mrs. Hilles, Miss Hill, Miss Betty Gram, Miss Mary Dubrow, Mrs. Victor du Pont and Miss Mabel Vernon. Between speeches a lively local band which had escorted the out of town delegations of suffragists from the train, played popular and patriotic music. The suffrage forces all but stormed the convention of Republicans a little later when, following the county caucesses, they spoke in front of the convention hall, a local theater, and held up the hour for the convention opening, so anxious were the out-of-town delegates to hear the special pleaders for suffrage.

To a packed theater, delegates on the floor and the suffragists in the crowded galleries, Robert G. Houston, the chairman of the convention, asked that the State of Delaware reaffirm the policy of the Republican party in regard to suffrage. Interrupted again and again by storms of applause, suffragists in the gallery realized that the explicit voice of the party could not be disregarded by the legislature.

> "The Democrats propose to attempt to carry the Republican state of Delaware at the coming election," Mr. Houston said, "and it is your duty to see that their ambition fails of realization. As Republicans it is our duty to consider the Republican party first. No man in Delaware is bigger than the Republican party of Delaware and should not so imagine himself to be. Let me plead with you to unite in one circle that will give each and all a fair and equal opportunity.
>
> "Our Republican leaders have asked that the legislature in special session ratify and make secure the

(*Continued on page 70*)

36 or 37?

The Suffrage Referendum Case is now in the Hands of the Supreme Court, Whose Decision will Determine Whether Ratification Requires the Winning of 36 or 37 States

AS, prosaically, "the case of Hawk vs. Smith, Secretary of State," the Ohio suffrage referendum case came up before the United States Supreme Court for hearing on Friday, April 23.

Before the justices of the Court and a group of Woman's Party members, this case, of vital concern to every suffragist in the country, was argued orally by former Governor J. Frank Hanley of Indiana; counsel for the plaintiff, Hawk; and former Attorney General Lawrence Maxwell, representing the Ohio Secretary of State. Printed briefs were filed by the eminent constitutional lawyers engaged by the Woman's Party to represent the interests of the women of the nation—Shippen Lewis, George Wharton Pepper and William Draper Lewis, former Dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School.

Not until a decision on this case has been rendered by the Court can suffragists be certain whether the winning of the thirty-sixth state will mean final suffrage victory or whether a thirty-seventh state must be added. If the Court should sustain the contention of the defendant that a referendum on the ratification resolution passed last June by the Ohio legislature is valid, Ohio must be counted out of the ratification column, at least temporarily, and another state substituted.

Eight state supreme courts have passed upon this same question of the validity of a referendum on the ratification by a state legislature of a federal amendment, in cases involving the prohibition amendment. The Supreme Courts of Oregon, Maine, Colorado, Arkansas, California and Michigan have pronounced the law to be that the resolutions ratifying a national constitutional amendment cannot be subjected to referenda, while the Supreme Courts of Ohio and Washington (both on divided votes) have held to the contrary.

Furthermore, Federal Courts, where the question has been raised in prohibition cases, have followed the reasoning of the Oregon, Maine, Colorado, Arkansas, California and Michigan cases.

The Michigan Decision

To state briefly the two outstanding points in the case, the opinion of the Supreme Court of Michigan is quoted:

"The questions presented are:

> "1. Does the word 'legislature' in the provision of the Federal Constitution and in the joint resolution of Congress mean 'the legislative assembly' or 'the legislative authority, of the state?'
>
> "2. Does the word 'act' in the referendum provision of the state constitution include the act of the legislature in adopting such joint resolution?"

Upon these two questions, the Supreme Court of Michigan reaches the following conclusions:

> "It is our conclusion that the word 'legislature' as employed in Article V of the Federal Constitution was intended by its framers to mean the representatives of the people elected to make the laws of the several states, when acting as a body, and that a state has no power, through its constitution or by statute, to restrict this action of the legislature by subjecting it to a review by popular vote. * * *
>
> "Where an amendment to the constitution, after ratification by a sufficient number of states, becomes a part thereof, and is thereafter the supreme law of the land, the action of the state legislature in ratifying it is not the making of a law or an 'act' as understood in legislative parlance."

The Colorado Verdict

The Supreme Court of Colorado says:

> "It is the contention of the plaintiffs in error that the word 'legislature' thus used, means 'the whole legislative power of the state.' This definition is intended to be made applicable in the instant case by including the legislative power of the people as given by the referendum. In our opinion, however, the term 'legislature' as used in Article V of the Federal Constitution means that body of persons composing the ordinary representative law making body of the state. Under that definition it necessarily follows that the people have no power to ratify a proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution by a popular vote, and therefore cannot exercise the referendum upon such a ratifying legislative resolution as is involved in the instant case."

Even in the Ohio case, the decision was not unanimous. Justice Robinson, who did not agree with the majority of the Court, gave the following as his dissenting opinion:

> "I dissent from the judgment in this case for the reason that the judgment is and must be based upon an amendment to a state constitution and a new and strained definition of the word 'legislature' expounded by a state court.
>
> "At the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution the term 'legislature' had a certain, definite meaning, as the representative body delegated by the electors to make the law, and was so understood and intended, as used in article V thereof. Obviously the fundamental law does not change automatically with public sentiment and public policy but changes only when public sentiment and public policy forces an amendment thereto. No amendment has been made to Article V and I am not ready to participate in a misapplication of its plain and expressed meaning nor to consent to an amendment to the Federal Constitution by any other process than the process therein provided.
>
> "In my opinion the judgment here elevates the state above nation, devitalizes the Federal Constitution, makes it subject to as many interpretations as there are states, and destroys its uniform operation throughout the nation."

The Argument of Our Lawyers

In the brief filed for the National Woman's Party by Messrs. Lewis, Lewis, and Pepper, it is said:

> "All through the Constitution the word 'legislature'

Mrs. Richard Wainwright, Mrs. Abby Scott Baker and Miss Sue White, officers of the Woman's Party, attended the Supreme Court hearing

> is carefully used, and bears the meaning which is both popular and technically correct. The framers of the Constitution and of the early amendments were perfectly familiar with the term 'legislative powers' and used it accurately in article I, Section 1. It cannot be supposed that they confounded it with the word 'legislature.' * * *
>
> "The soundness of the proposition that a legislature means of necessity a representative legislative assembly has been tested by the suggestion that if this be true it must follow that a state which abolished its representative body and legislated by initiative only, would thereby lose the power to participate in the ratification of Federal amendments if the method of ratification by legislatures were selected by Congress.

"Such a conclusion is logically correct and entirely sound. If a state should abolish its legislature and cease to have any representative legislative body, it would lose its ability to ratify a federal amendment where Congress chose the legislative method of ratification. A state so acting would do so with full knowledge of the consequences.

"It would also lose its representatives in Congress, since there would no longer be any qualifications 'requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.' This would be unfortunate, but still a voluntary surrender of rights.

"The Federal Constitution will have to be amended before a state can abolish its legislature and still preserve its right to representation in Congress and its right to ratify an amendment submitted by Congress to the legislatures of the several states. * * *

"Whether a legislature, in ratifying a federal amendment is bound to conform to the rules of procedure laid down by the state constitution may be a debatable question. But the question here is not a question of procedure. The constitution of Ohio attempts to add another ratifying body to that designated by the Constitution of the United States. It says in effect: 'Under certain circumstances no amendment to the constitution of the United States shall be considered to be ratified by the legislature unless and until it shall also be ratified by the people at the polls.' This is an attempt not simply to regulate the procedure to be followed by the legislature, but to limit the substantive power of the legislature by requiring the consent of another body to make effective the expressed consent of the legislature.

"We submit that the state cannot impose such a limitation even upon its own legislature. To permit it would be to allow the state, rather than Congress, to choose the method of ratification to be pursued, although the constitution gives the power of choice to Congress alone. For if a state can annex a popular referendum to the method of ratification by the legislature it can go further and annex a constitutional convention. It can provide that no resolution of the legislature shall operate to ratify a federal amendment unless and until such resolution shall be approved by a state constitutional convention. Plainly this would vest the power of the choice of methods in the state rather than in Congress."

Sue S. White.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 23, 1912, OF THE SUFFRAGIST, PUBLISHED MONTHLY AT WASHINGTON, D. C., FOR APRIL 1, 1920.

Before me, a notary, in and for the City of Washington, District of Columbia, personally appeared Ruth Garner Quick, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the business manager of The Suffragist, and that the following, is to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, National Woman's Party, Washington, D. C. Editor, Florence Brewer Boeckel; Circulation Manager, Ruth Garner Quick.

2. That the owners are: National Woman's Party, Executive Committee; Miss Alice Paul, N. J., Chairman; Miss Mabel Vernon, Nev., Secretary; Mrs. Robert Baker, D. C.; Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, N. Y.; Mrs. John Winters Brannan, N. Y.; Miss Lucy Burns, N. Y.; Mrs. Gilson Gardner, D. C.; Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn, Conn.; Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Del.; Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, Md.; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Pa.; Miss Doris Stevens, Neb.; Miss Maud Younger, Cal.; Mrs. Henry G. Leach, N. Y.; Mrs. Richard Wainwright, D. C.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amounts of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholders or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given, also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

RUTH GARNER QUICK.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 21st day of March, 1920.
(Seal.) ELEANOR M. NOLAND.

Are You A Mermaid?

Editor's Note:—Algernon Tassin, in this plea to women not to stop at the half-way, mermaid stage toward freedom, follows out the widely discussed ideas of his new play, *The Craft of the Tortoise* (Boni Liveright and Co.).

Mr. Tassin is not a newly converted feminist, but one who has all his life encouraged women in their painful effort to become and to be recognized as fully human.

IN 1792 there was published in Philadelphia the second magazine in America to recognize woman in its title. The frontispiece presented the Genius of the Lady's Magazine, accompanied by the Genius of Emulation approaching the Goddess of Liberty and submitting to her, kneeling, a scroll of the Rights of Woman.

But lest you should think this poetical allegory an early harbinger of the suffrage movement, let me hasten to quote the announcement which informs us of the contents of the portentous scroll which she carries. "A book of this kind will be universally recommended in all boarding schools throughout the country—as it is to contain everything requisite to disseminate the knowledge of real life, portray virtue in its most amiable point of view, inspire the Female Mind with a love of religion, of patience, prudence and fortitude. In short, whatever tends to form the accomplished Woman, the Complete Economist, and the greatest of all treasures, *a Good Wife.*"

Why this memorandum of her immemorial duties should be labeled the Rights of Woman and be presented to the Goddess of Liberty it is difficult to surmise, unless it were only a commercial dodge to wheedle a subscription out of some long-suffering but still hopeful female pocket. The scroll might, indeed, have been worthy the attention of Liberty had it contained any such pronouncement as follows:

(1) Woman wants the right to the knowledge of real life itself and not to such fragments of it as are deemed requisite by the gentlemen publishers; (2) the right to behold virtue from *all* points of view; (3) the right to refuse to be inoculated either with a religion which teaches that she was created to be in subjection to man and must all the more remain so since the slave was responsible for the master's downfall, or with three qualities so eminently desirable in a slave; (4) and, finally, if the Lady's Magazine were really capable of turning her out an accomplished woman and a complete economist, the right to employ her accomplishments and managerial abilities for other ends than to make some man a good wife—i. e., an agreeable, comforting, and submissive one.

It is also difficult to fathom why, in making this particular presentation, the Lady's Magazine should have been honored with the company of the Genius of Emulation. When were young men allowed the knowledge of real life only so far as was deemed requisite by authority? Or to behold virtue only when she was sitting for her picture? Or besought to cultivate chiefly the qualities of Patience, Prudence, and Fortitude? Or when did they have all their teaching and reading bent toward forming that greatest of treasures, *a Good Husband?*

But though we perceive neither rights nor emulation in this scroll of woman's duties, the Lady's Magazine expressed not only man's ideal for woman but woman's ideal

The cover of "The Lady's Magazine" in 1792

for herself in 1792. In some important industrial, legal, and political ways man's ideal for woman has enlarged since then. But can we say that woman's ideal of herself has changed in any fundamental way? Today, a scroll of Woman's Rights would of course contain first and foremost the right to vote and to be equal with man before the law; but would it not, with the consent of the majority of women, enroll the same ideals and sentiments as those of the long defunct Lady's Magazine? Do not, in short, women in general consider that the greatest of all man's treasures is, with some minor differences in definition, still a good wife? The only item in the list of the Lady's Magazine one feels safe in disputing is that of Complete Economist. In these days, when most commodities are supplied to the home from factories outside and ordered by telephone, the female Complete Economist is as dead as the dodo. But though economy is a suspiciously serviceable virtue to be prescribed for women in the old man-financed days, it was the only one in the woman's curriculum of long ago which was not deliberately contrived to hinder her progress into an independent position, enfranchised from her god-sanctioned and custom-hallowed slavery to man. Yet, as far as I can find out,

woman is preparing to carry into the days of her freedom all the twaddle about her superior spiritual mission with which she was chloroformed in the days of her servitude. The Lady's Magazine was confident that it would be recommended for use in all the boarding schools of the country. I have, in a teacher's capacity, had something to do with girls' boarding schools, and I find their spiritual program largely identical with that of the Lady's Magazine. Mothers have ceased writing to teachers (to quote a letter I once saw): "Please don't teach my girl anything about her insides. 'Tain't no use; besides, it's rude"; but they are still as anxious as ever, perhaps more than ever, to keep their daughters' spiritual insides untampered with.

A young girl still takes to school from the nursery the settled conviction that she is man's spiritual superior, and mothers are anxious that she should learn nothing there to shake it. Indeed, it would require a good deal to shake it. Can we venture to say that any woman who has learned to lisp the cute rhyme in babyhood has ever really forgotten that little girls are made of sugar and spice and everything nice, and that little boys are made of snips and snails and puppy-dogs' tails; or that the conviction of her spiritual superiority is not deeply embedded for all time in that underground of the unconscious from which spring most adult acts and actions? Who has not seen the complacent sex-conscious little maiden sweep her dainty skirts away from contact with the young savage whose interior is composed of such rough odds and ends?

Our boarding schools are full of charming and gracious ladies who are pathetically anxious to preserve the spiritual illusions of their charges. They still portray chiefly the virtues which the days of slavery taught were becoming to women, and still portray them only from the most amiable point of view. This is a lop-sided and lying way to portray anything. Boys are taught that the other side of character is pig-headedness. Why should not girls be taught that the other side of patience, prudence, and fortitude is supineness? And that putting up with things as they are is to forfeit all chance of changing them into what they should be? Suppose the charming and gracious ladies of our boarding schools should portray from the most amiable point of view alone, the love of finery, of frivolity, of cocktails? The purpose of boys' schools seems to be to get rid of whatever personal illusions the boys may have which will unfit them for life; if their teachers do not do it, the contact with other boys will. The purpose of girls' schools seems rather to fasten their sex-illusions all the more deeply.

I have found this most amusingly illustrated in the teaching of Shakspere. "Do not destroy their illusions," cry the authorities tremulously; "let our girls keep them as long as possible!" Maintaining their illusions about the world as Shakspere painted it seems to be—as far as I can find out—keeping him strictly unexposed to the test of life either actual or desirable; and allowing the young ladies to think that such spineless creatures as Imogen, Hero, Desdemona, are types of noble womanhood to be emulated, since they are both charming and gentle, and faithful unto abuse, vileness, and death. When I have tried to find out what these illusions are whose destruction I am risking, I perceive that they all cluster about the chivalry of men which, though sadly frayed at times, can be trusted to come out strong in the end if only women will endure, and about the superior spirituality of femininity—in short, the lovely lady stage-property of literature. The teachers would rather retain that ideal than have me point out to the girls that the present ideal of woman in the popular novel of today—though still ludicrously distorted and exaggerated—is an infinitely truer one than Shakspere's, and that our greatest genius had in fact a decidedly contemptible and contemptuous notion of women though he recognized their serviceability in carrying on highly romantic stories.

As for the notion that all the education of woman is to fit her primarily to confer upon man that greatest of all treasures, a good wife and mother, there are plenty of girls' schools and colleges which openly assert that ideal today. Nor do I find that their recipe for good wifehood differs much from that of the Lady's Magazine of 1792. A young girl should be saturated chiefly with those religious and spiritual qualities which will make her submit to man as her natural lord and governor and king, as Portia gladly hails Bassanio in the "Merchant of Venice," although he is confessedly an impoverished spendthrift and she a thrifty manager of her own estate, and although she knows he has borrowed money under the most questionable circumstances to come to woo her.

The constant portrayal to young women of certain virtues only, and these in their most amiable light, has after ages of perseverance throughout the days of woman-slavery, with the assistance of sentimental stories in which the heroines supply admirable emotional situations by dealing largely in such virtues, succeeded in imparting to them as their birthright a set of entirely fictitious values. They can all be summed up in the one fatuous quotation: "She bears a lily in her hand, Gates of brass cannot withstand." Pray, when did this happen? Could it ever have happened? When is it likely to happen? Yet this is the sex illusion girls' boarding schools are so eager to maintain in the girls that come to them with the golden legend learned by heart at their mother's knee. It is of course a very pleasing notion for any girl to entertain, especially if weak-chested—that the mere juxtaposition of a white flower and her five fingers compose a strength capable of opening or demolishing all the brazen doors of the world. Never a girl but thrilled responsive to that most delicious of old plays, Ingomar, in which a pretty Greek girl with trailing white draperies that never got dirty went forth alone into the mountains and subjugated a tribe of barbarians by picking bouquets and pointing out the uses of beauty and teaching them to say thank you.

After women secure the vote, the sooner they cease to be a separate self-conscious group the better, but they must remain separate and self-conscious as long as their ideals and sentiments are different from those of men. It is, however, open to grave doubt whether women as a body will want to get rid of them. For these sentiments have not only poetic values but practical ones also. In the mass of human contradictions which arose from society's adoption of a sex-creed at variance with sex-conduct, woman, with the aid of her sex-attractiveness, could wrest from man whatever emoluments the system of slavery afforded her and

extract from the situation many advantages she could not otherwise have secured. To expect a woman to make herself over merely because she has secured the vote is to expect more from her than society got from men when they received the suffrage. Men were not willing to give up their class ideas with the ballot; why should people imagine that women will be willing, especially when to relinquish them is to relinquish many of her privileges also?

When women get the vote, they will of course immediately begin to abolish certain grievances which fall most cruelly on women and children. This is just what the middle and the lower class men began to do the moment they became a political power to be reckoned with. But to secure people, what should be their rights under existing conditions does not make the conditions themselves any better. It does not always make them even more tolerable. To secure labor several of its natural rights has not made labor desire to be any more honest, any more efficient, any more careful of other people's material—in a word, has not reduced the innate antagonism of labor to capital. Neither will the vote for woman reduce any of the innate antagonism against man which makes her, as it makes labor with capital, exult in exacting privileges from man, which is the heritage of her long subjection. What will do so? Nothing that she can exact from man, I am sorry to say, or there would be more hope in the situation, now that she has secured the political power to compel him. The woman's vote will mean nothing to the actual progress of society until women themselves are willing to learn that there are no distinctly female virtues and that there are no distinctly male prerogatives; and that her chief aim is not to become a good wife and mother. Just as there have been, occasionally, good husbands and fathers without this paramount aim, so there may be good wives and mothers who have something else in their heads and hearts besides this supreme intention.

I am one of those who believe that women and their right relations with men are the hope of the future; that society cannot advance until men and women are equal in all respects. But before women can reform society they must reform themselves. The cure for society we have found long since, in our so-called democracy, is not the vote but, rather, making that vote wise and enlightened. Unless women replace with better ones the spurious sentiments their minds were debauched with in the days of their servitude, what good will their voting do anybody but themselves? Yet any change from these endeared sentiments I find most women passionately resent, because they feel it would be tantamount to depriving them of their chief distinction and charm and also because they see they would thereby lose some tactical advantage and practical results.

It would certainly be depriving them of the age-long conviction, sedulously cultivated, that she is a finer and better vessel than man. It is a conviction which man, assisted by his literature and in spite of the teaching of his religion that woman was by nature inferior and depraved, allowed to be implanted in woman because he saw that it would keep her acquiescent in his mastery. The psychology of its working is perfectly well known to any clever woman who proudly points to the successful management of her husband today. "I make a point of yielding to him in non-essentials," she explains with a wink, "so that he won't see I have *my* way in everything that really matters."

"A woman cannot exist, any more than a nation, half slave and half free. You refuse to go back to the old days when you were slave? Then be entirely free. Give up the old slave morality!" So cries, to two lady freebooters, the heroine in my recently published play, *The Craft of the Tortoise*. The words are honestly spoken, although by a woman who possesses in one particular the worst of the slave morality she so passionately declaims against. In the preface of the play occur the following sentences: "Until sex-equality exists, the sex antagonism which makes woman fiercely glory in exacting privileges from man will continue to exist. Her notion that women are socially superior is as destructive as was his notion that women were in all ways inferior. To abolish this notion, she must banish the whole sentimental and moral machinery by which man finally converted her into his willing slave."

If one may judge from newspaper comment, these remarks have aroused a storm of censure even from suffragists. Well, I am far from complaining; for my objection to many suffragists is that they are mermaids, fitted neither for one element nor another, but seeking to retain a few advantages of both. Since they are not feminists they are anomalies. Are you a feminist? Or do you feel that the safe limit of progress has been reached in giving you the vote?

Algernon Tassin.

Women's Colleges and the New Order

HOW will the women's colleges be forced to change by the new political power of women? They'll be wiped off the earth, that's how they'll change!"

Such was the vigorous explosion of a young University of Chicago graduate in reply to a question from a Vassar woman the other day. The debate on modern methods of education which followed proved nothing and ended nowhere, but it raised a few questions in the minds of its audience that are perhaps worth at least suggesting to a larger group of women.

What, for instance, are some of the results of women's "higher education" in this country at present? What are the openings for trained women? What sense of responsibility is developed in them by their education? What contribution toward the common good does society allow them to make from their store of knowledge? And finally what is the present specific function of the women's colleges, if they have one?

To begin with the last question as the one leading to the others, the women's colleges, to such hasty observers as the Chicago girl just quoted, seem to be merely aristocratic survivals of an old regime, outliving their pioneer function of opening the world of science and thought to women. Their most thoughtful apologists, however, those who expect them

to be eventually replaced by state coeducational establishments, believe that they still serve usefully, and will for some decades to come, in developing what at present are the chief needs of women—initiative and self-consciousness of the right sort; for until women are sufficiently self-conscious and sex-conscious to see what is happening to them now, camouflaged as it is by the apparent breadth of their lives compared with ancient oppression, they will never gain a real place in the state. Blinded by the light streaming in on them from the many windows formerly shuttered, they are still, like the companions of Maeterlinck's Ariane, a little frightened by the prospects revealed, satisfied with the tales told them of the arduous ways of the world, willing to believe the men who warn them against toil that is not "for women." Very few see that they are still in a cellar, bound by custom to a narrow place.

Flattery + Firmness = Plums

The figure is not fanciful. In almost every place where women are working now they are in subordinate positions under the direction of men who adroitly mix flattery with firmness in arguments for keeping the best and most stimulating opportunities to themselves. In public education the present plan works out, every teacher will confirm me, in the awarding of almost all the "plums" to the men in the system. Every meeting of a teachers' institute features as speakers and organizers the comparatively few men on the membership rolls and pushes the far more numerous and earnest and professionally able women into back seats. An energetic and remarkably constructive college graduate, who in six years has built up a model primary school in one of New York's suburbs, gave me the other day some startling facts on the way the metropolitan school system disregards its women teachers for its less well trained men; when high-salaried appointments are made, men are given them; when promotions are decided, men get them; superintendents and principals are usually men, often of the pin-headed and narrowly experienced sort, who, because they regard a school as they would a factory, install time clocks to regulate their teachers' comings and goings and congratulate themselves on saving taxes by securing cheap subordinates, whether qualified or not.

The situation in state colleges and universities is much the same. There are no women presidents of large institutions, the number of women heads of departments is negligible, the number on faculties is almost as small, the number in the very lowest ranks is much the largest. Why the disproportion? Because, as men have said from time immemorial, women's accomplishment is too small to warrant their being given responsible work? Because the few appointed have not made good or have married and dropped out of the race? Or merely because the men in charge wish to keep the work in their own hands and women in "the home?"

Women Are "Fussy," "Restless"

Undoubtedly there is some truth in each of these counts. Women are often undesirable employes because their careers are likely to be interrupted by marriage; marriage and children are necessary to the state and to women themselves and are therefore to be encouraged, not discouraged. The professional woman's accomplishment will always be handicapped for some years of each mother's life by motherhood. But none of these facts gives enough reason for the closed doors that women have everywhere still to face. The real cause for their unequal opportunities was, I believe, typically expressed by the head of a department of history in one of the largest coeducational universities of the West, a representative specimen of his class, who once told me that he had no sympathy with the desire of his women students to do graduate work in order to fit themselves for research or for higher teaching. "There are," he said, "practically no good positions open for such women." "Not even in the coeducational universities?" I asked. "Certainly not," he answered; "the men who are in the faculties and at the head, prefer men; men are easier to deal with, less fussy, less restless. I personally should always prefer a well-trained man to an equally well trained or even a better trained woman."

Further talk revealed no basis of fact in the professor's experience—he had never had a woman colleague—but it did bring out a deeply felt fear and sex jealousy, a belief that women might eventually do men out of their jobs if they were freely admitted to competition.

The same kind of fear, backed perhaps by an even more sinister influence, seems to have dictated an organized effort to purge our American schools and colleges of feminine teachers of history three or four years ago. The movement started in the Northwest and was managed through a series of circular letters sent to educators all over the country, protesting on patriotic grounds agains the "feminization of our schools" and calling on the authorities to replace by "virile men" those numerous "sentimental women teachers of history and civics, who inculcate in their classes unmanly attitudes toward war and toward our own and other countries." So far as I know, the propaganda bore little fruit; should a similar attempt be made now, in our nervous fear of every pacifist and internationalistic tendency, it might be more successful.

No Competition, Please!

Generally, however, campaigns against professional women are not so open as this one. Less obvious methods are preferred, possibly often only half consciously formulated. The masculine instinct to keep women in their place and out of competitive fields—an instinct so painfully familiar to suffragists—suggests all manner of little protective devices, which are rationalized and explained after they have operated successfully. Such are the acts of the learned societies in relegating to that part of their program known as "Papers read by title" the majority of contributions submitted by women; such are the efforts of the same societies to keep their officers almost entirely masculine; such again are the acts of trustees in rapidly promoting and in granting special privileges and larger salaries to the men on the faculties of their institutions.

Even in the women's colleges, where women teachers have their only chance to do advanced work, there is little fairness on the part of administrators and trustees. Women who have served long and whole-heartedly and often brilliantly, see promoted over their heads smart young men with less

(*Continued on page 72*)

"Woman Freed" by Gertrude Boyle

Woman, open the citadel of art
And enter into the rays of creative force!
Lave your being in pulsing mists of cosmic life.
Flame your mind with the celestial fire of art.
Bare your soul to the influx of spirit.

Long have you served in the land of darkness
Grouped midst the shadows of the encircling walls of might.
Crying loud across the moats, yet hearing only
The echo of your cry thrown back in the dead watches of the night.
Woman, open the portals of light!

Art and Woman's Freedom

FOR ages man, with rare exception, has monopolized the world of art. But the time has at last come when another phase of life must find expression through art—woman-engendered art. The voice of the female soul must rise high and clear above the discords of the day—above the deadening grind of the wheel of things.

What place could woman, subjugated by man and his unjust laws, find in art, which means individual freedom? How could woman, taught to compromise and placate, find self-expression, which is art? The moment an artist serves something foreign to art, that moment art deserts him. The artist dare not compromise, but must be true to self, bowing only before life.

Slowly and painfully woman has won her way toward a freedom in which art can live. Her years of subjugation will be a factor in woman's strength in art, for "the half of music is to have grieved." But with freedom has come an enriched experience, and will come a sincerity, which will not only make woman capable of art, but make art necessary to woman.

Art, too, like woman, has suffered long under man-imposed restrictions. It has been taught to be docile to rules, to serve purposes foreign to itself. It, too, is finding a new freedom which woman should enlarge and safeguard.

With woman bound, with art cramped, society could never hope for health or for the happiness of full life. As I watch a child dance I realize what goes to make up art. The airy grace and perfect relaxation—the complete surrender of the mind and body to rhythm and imagination—shows the child is at one with the elements, the wind and the sun and the waves playing through her, birds and flowers all about her. We grown-ups must unlearn so much before we can reach this state of art, this perfect abandon to life!

Let woman learn truth to life in art. Let her, launching on her study of government, starting with fresh interest and viewpoint to make the laws under which to live, be imbued with a sense of the relation of art and life, the unity of the inner force and its outward expression, that she may strive to bring law and living also into harmony.

Unless the social order does draw a deeper breath from nature, laden with the free spirit of the dawning day, it will shrivel up and pass away. Unnatural laws breed disease, fill the jails and cause both physical and spiritual death. If woman really desires to add to the happiness of the race, let her start right in finding the relation between life and the laws she would have enacted. If there is to be no fundamental relationship, no harmony, the enactment of law is but a waste of energy, for the laws are false.

Woman lives more in her emotions than man. This of itself should tend to make her a greater artist, as art springs primarily from emotions, and her broadening sympathies and growing interest in all life will lead her away from the great error into which artists have been prone to fall. Too often have artists and poets put a halo about their brows and tried to set themselves apart from every-day life, but in vain, for they cease to reflect life, and as far as they remove themselves from it they remove themselves from art.

Art is not concerned in producing a masterpiece. A masterpiece is accidental, incidental, a by-product. Art

is concerned with expressing life in all its phases, giving an outlet to thought, feeling and emotion. It is for this reason that all can be artists, if not in the limited sense, surely in the big sense—in the art of living, moving, dressing, working at something one cares for. Very few ever give a thought to self-expression in any of these things.

Let woman follow nature more closely and understandingly than man has done in the world she is about to enter. Let her use her new freedom to find truth and dare to give the truth she finds fearless expression. Government will then become, as she moulds it, not an instrument with which man represses man, but an instrument that will aid life to become art—art, life.

I have here attempted to give some idea of what I conceive art to be, and its relation to life and woman's new relation to both. But I realize that after all art has to be lived. We cannot talk nor write about it without compromising its very essence—spontaneity.

Gertrude Boyle.

The Second Round

Extracts from an Editorial in the "Woman's Leader,"

(London, England, March 12, 1920)

SINCE the dawn of history women have been oppressed, and they are still being oppressed. From age to age, the institutions of society, civil, religious, political, economic, have embodied that oppression. From age to age, philosophers, prophets, poets, and statesmen have accepted it and condoned it. Sometimes it takes place on the grand and shameless scale which we associate with Eastern civilisations. Sometimes it is less obvious, and indeed, less flagrant, hidden away for the most part in the home traditions which men and women alike have been accustomed to regard half-consciously as part and parcel of the natural order. * * *

Standing today at the opening of the twentieth century A. D., and in the centre of the highest civilisation that the world has ever known, we are tempted to speculate upon the extent to which that oppression has been modified. * * *

If we narrow down our view to this particular country it it not difficult to sum up the concrete gains of the first round. It has brought us a very large measure of educational opportunity. It has brought us the recognition of married women's property. It has brought us the legal right to enter most professions, and it has brought us a free field of public service. Most important of all, it has brought us the badge of responsible citizenship, at the same time a new dignity and a new weapon, the parliamentary franchise. Having summed up its concrete gains, we can, at the same time, sum up its obvious failures. It has not brought us complete political equality, millions of us remain unenfranchised. It has not brought us complete legal equality; for instance, we are not yet the legal parents of our children. It has not brought us a tolerable place in the world of industry; the mass of us are industrially unorganized, pariahs of the labour market, doing the nastiest work for the lowest pay, and on the whole getting cursed for doing it. It has not yet brought us frank recognition of spiritual equality; and our most enlightened ecclesiastics are still nervously debating the conditions under which privileged laywomen should be allowed to speak in church. * * * * *

In the first place there is the possession of the vote. That, of course, affects our chances incalculably. It is a finer weapon than we have ever possessed. * * * * *

And yet this tremendous and outstanding victory of the first round carries with it a peculiar danger of its own. It compelled us to concentrate all our force, all our hope, all our enthusiasm, upon a single, narrow front. It immensely simplified the women's movement. And to those of us who grew up under the stimulus of that intense concentration the ideals of the woman's movement seemed to be summed up in the three words of our battle cry, "Votes for Women." Our cause called for no effort of thought beyond that which was necessary to secure the best possible presentation of a perfectly straightforward case, or that which was necessary to plan the strategy of a circumscribed and perfectly straightforward campaign. We knew exactly what our objective was like and we could see it all the time. We were learning to act, we were learning to give, but we were not necessarily learning to think in correct proportions. To the older women of the movement, in all probability this would not apply, they had themselves already experienced fighting on other fronts. * * * But to a very large majority of the younger women the Cause had always meant a concentration on Woman Suffrage. And so when at last Woman Suffrage came, it seemed as though the whole battle had been won. * * * And in gaining that we had lost our old forcible concentration. * * * We had to make a kind of mental effort which hitherto had not been required of us—we had to think in correct proportions. * * * The woman's movement had become, in a relatively greater degree, a problem of thought rather than a problem of action, a problem of selecting from the tangle of sex injustices, points on which to concentrate. * * * Here, then, is one of the dangers which overshadow our second campaign: the danger that the fighting forces of the women's movement may fail, owing to the vastness and diversity of their front, to see that front as a whole; the danger that a section may become isolated and in its isolation make a separate peace.

But this is not the only or even the greatest danger. Looming over us at the present time there is the threat that this precious weapon of the franchise, upon whose organization so many years of concentrated force have been spent, may lose its significance. It is not merely a question of our old enemy brute force discreetly veiled under the name of "direct action" usurping the function of representative gov-

(Continued on page 79)

Contesting With Del a

GEOGRAPHICAL as well political lines are drawn in the contest for the honor of giving the thirty-sixth ratification to the suffrage amendment. Not only Republicans and Democrats, but New England and the South are entries in the race for last place in the honor roll of ratification states.

While Delaware dallies, North Carolina has become emboldened, Louisiana's suffragists have united in a drive for ratification, and Vermont and Connecticut are deploring the stubbornness of anti-suffrage governors, who only by refusing to let the legislature vote can prevent ratification by those states.

Not to be outdone by the North and the South, the West is participating in the last-minute drive for ratification by giving money contributions to the campaign, recognizing the fact that suffrage is a national issue.

North Carolina Out For Ratification

"This convention recommends to the Democratic members of the General Assembly of North Carolina that at the approaching session thereof they vote in favor of the ratification of the proposed nineteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution."

Such is the text of the resolution adopted by the Democratic State Convention of North Carolina at Raleigh on April 8, 1920, as a plank in its platform. There will be an opportunity to live up to this plank at the special session of the legislature called for July. Some enthusiasts are even proposing an earlier special suffrage session.

The movement for the ratification of the suffrage amendment by North Carolina has gathered strength during the past two months until it is the outstanding topic of conversation in the state, with the assurance on every hand to the visiting suffrage worker: "We are sure to ratify; you needn't worry about North Carolina."

The plank, which was offered by F. P. Hopgood of Greensboro, was adopted on a roll-call vote of 585 to 482½, after a hard fight from the floor of the convention against the effort to "railroad" through a plank providing for the rejection of the amendment and the submission to a referendum of a suffrage amendment to the state constitution.

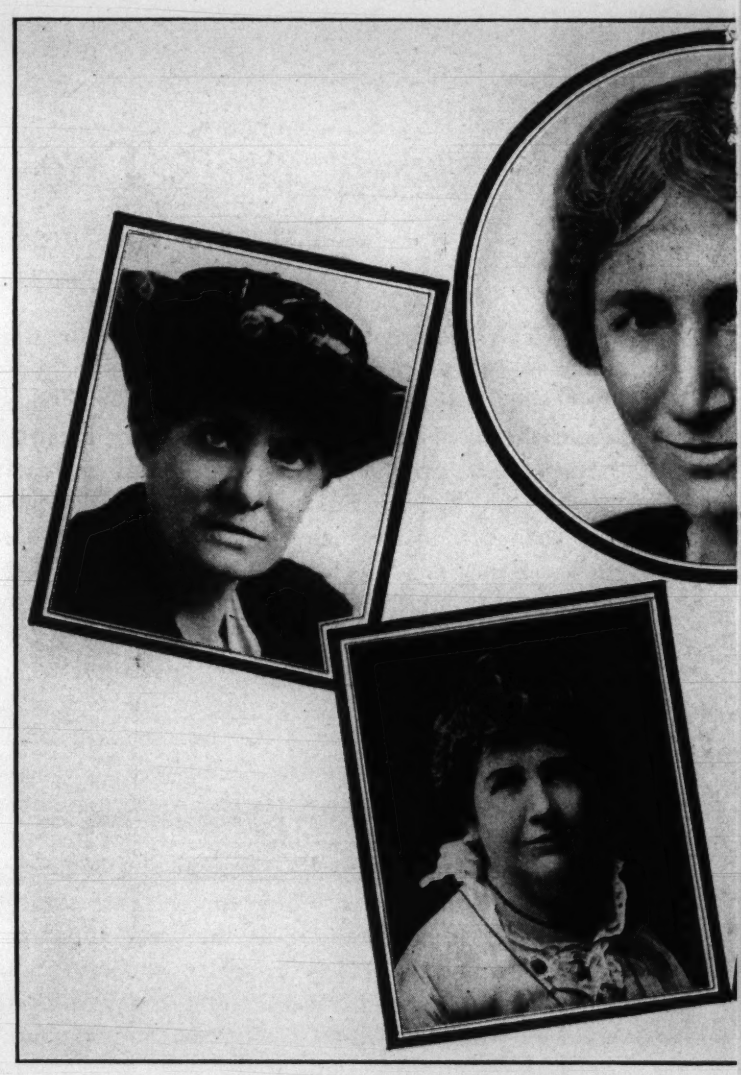
Miss Sue White, national organizer, has made two trips into the state recently, conferring with local suffragists and state political leaders. She was in Raleigh during the state Democratic convention and worked for ratification among the delegates. In conjunction with the National Legislative Department she is now taking a poll of the members of the legislature.

Of the sixty-four legislators who have already answered the questionnaire submitted by the Woman's Party, forty pledged themselves to vote for ratification and only twelve were definitely opposed. Non-committal replies came from twelve. One representative, A. C. Ray, offered to serve without compensation should the governor call an earlier session of the legislature for the express purpose of acting on the amendment.

Nearly all of the non-committal replies show a decided pro-suffrage tendency. "If I can see my way clear to do so I will vote for it," says one man. "I think I will vote for it," is another reply counted in the non-committal list. "I am inclined to favor ratifying" and "I voted for suffrage in the General Assembly in 1919 and don't know anything just now that will change my views, but am not going to pledge my vote until the question comes up in the special session that convenes in July of this year," are two other comments.

Among the prominent members of the Assembly quick to pledge their endorsement to the federal amendment were Senator W. P. Horton, Representatives W. N. Everett, D. N. Jones, R. S. McCoin, L. H. Young, and A. C. Ray. Represen-

tative Everett said, "I had charge of the
at the last session and shall probably ha
session." Representative McCoin adds to
statement that "I will be glad to use my



DIRECTING THE WOMAN'S PARTY I

Left to Right, Above: Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson, state chain chairman for Delaware; Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn, state cha chairman for Louisiana, Mrs. J. Borden Estee,

A strong indication of suffrage sentin
opponents of the suffrage amendment i
Carolina is great. Notable among these i
7, the day before the state convention, iss

> "I have been persistently urged to n
> the present aspect of the woman suffr
> insistence, I do not mean to do more t
> of the matter as I see it. Emphatica
> reference to the question of woman s
> Federal instead of state action. I am
> I still believe it will be not helpful b
> interest of the women themselves, but
> tion has been practically settled and
> do will unsettle it. It is true that the
> of one more state for final ratification,
> states shall have acted, I feel sure, aft
> several more votes than is necessary.

aware for 36th Place

bill for municipal suffrage in the House
ve charge of ratification at the special
his pledge to vote for ratification the
influence to put the amendment over."

'ORCES IN FIVE CRUCIAL STATES

an for North Carolina; Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, state rman for Connecticut. Below: Mrs. E. G. Graham, state Vermont member National Advisory Council

ient is found in the attitude of former
Congress, whose influence in North
Senator F. M. Simmons, who on April
ied a statement in which he said:

ake some statement with reference to
ige question, and in yielding to this
nan make an individual presentation
ly I have not changed my mind with
ffrage, especially suffrage through
still opposed to woman suffrage and
t distinctly detrimental to the highest
I recognize the fact that that ques-
hat nothing North Carolina can now
suffrage amendment needs the vote
out when the legislatures of all the
r thorough investigation, it will have
The practical question which now confronts us is therefore not whether women shall be accorded the privilege of full and equal suffrage, but *when* shall they be permitted to enter into the enjoyment of these privileges. Shall it be today or not until tomorrow? Shall it be this year or not until next year? Shall it be in the impending elections, or not until the next succeeding elections? Manifestly this situation presents a pure question of policy and should be dealt with without embarassing reference to individual views as to the wisdom or unwisdom of woman suffrage as an original proposition. While it will not be in the power of North Carolina to determine at its option whether women shall or shall not vote, circumstances seem to have placed in the state's power the option of determining whether that privilege shall be accorded them in this year's or postponed until next year's elections. I do not wish to discuss the political aspects of this matter further than to say that while Republican and Democratic leaders here generally concede the inevitable ratification of the amendment, there is a persistent belief that Republican leaders fear the effect of women's participation in this year's elections, while Democratic leaders believe their participation will be to the advantage of the Democratic party. However that may be, it is certain that two great questions, each of vital, nationwide import, both of which in their higher human aspects concern women more deeply than men, will be involved in this year's elections, and upon those questions it is believed women would naturally sympathize with the attitude of the Democratic party. Moreover, if women are allowed to vote this year, their affiliation in the approaching elections will largely determine their future alignment in politics."

Senator Overman Disappoints the Convention

Senator Overman was the disappointment of the convention, for there was every reason to believe that he would also see the wisdom of declaring for ratification. Congressman Clyde Hoey, who made the "keynote" speech on state issues, carried out his part of the program faithfully, but although suffragists sat with pencil poised to note how Senator Overman's statement would tally with certain well-defined rumors that were afloat, they were doomed to disappointment.

Senator Overman's statement to the convention was, in brief:

"I have been asked by the ladies to say something about suffrage. Every man is entitled to know my position, and I have never tried to keep it a secret. But I wouldn't sacrifice my sincere opinion for the President of the United States. So that I may not be misunderstood, I'll read what I have to say. I recognize that suffrage is inevitable—that is, it seems to be. My position on woman suffrage is well known. I have been and am opposed to it, especially by Federal amendment. It is fundamental with me, deep and inborn. I was opposed to Federal interference with the rights of suffrage in the states and have always claimed if suffrage was to come it should come through the state and not through Federal amendment. I have a letter from one of the best women in North Carolina and one of the leading women for suffrage, in which occurs this paragraph: 'The women of this state desire to be given suffrage at the hands of the men of North Carolina rather than by the vote of other states. We want ever to be able to say that our men, guided by their belief, decided this matter.' And with this sentiment I heartily agree. I may be wrong, but I have done what I thought was right. The good women of North Carolina would not have asked me to change my opinion to get down and be a time-server."

Congressman Clyde R. Hoey, temporary chairman of the convention, said:

"The Democracy of North Carolina welcomes the splendid womanhood of the state to share fully the duties and responsibilities of government, and I hope to see our General Assembly at its special session ratify the suffrage amendment. Such action will serve the twofold purpose of granting simple, though delayed, justice to our women, and exercising for ourselves the privilege of conferring the right of full suffrage upon our women. Every-

> body can support that proposition. Those of us who believe in suffrage for women can vote for it upon that ground, and those who are opposed to it can support it because they are going to have it any way, and it would be much more gracious for it to come by the vote of the men of our own state."

Other North Carolina Congressmen who have heretofore opposed the amendment made statements on the eve of the convention, including the Hon. Charles M. Stedman, from the Fifth District, and Representative Brinson.

Representatives H. F. Godwin and Zebulon Weaver, both of whom voted for suffrage in Congress, are strongly urging ratification, and the leading newspapers of the state are giving the movement editorial support. There is a Democratic primary on June 5, when all state officials, members of Congress and a United States Senator will be nominated. Senator Overman is a candidate in this primary and is opposed by Hon. A. L. Brooks, who gave valuable assistance in the fight on the suffrage plank in the state convention.

Louisiana's United Front

The Louisiana legislature meets in regular session on May 10. Though the present governor, Pleasants, is known to be antagonistic to the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, the incoming governor, John M. Parker, who was nominated for Vice-President on the Progressive ticket with Theodore Roosevelt, is entirely in favor of enfranchising women by Federal amendment and will use his influence to aid ratification by the Louisiana legislature.

Governor Parker is the leader of one powerful faction in the state, while Mayor Behrman, of New Orleans, is leader of the other faction. It was Mayor Behrman's influence which defeated state suffrage in Louisiana two years ago. He has recently announced his hope that the present Louisiana legislature will ratify the amendment.

The women of Louisiana have already made their campaign plans. Mrs. E. G. Graham, Louisiana chairman of the National Woman's Party, and Mrs. Lydia Holmes, chairman of the Louisiana Equal Suffrage Association, have combined forces and formed a ratification committee, composed of nine women, with representation from their associations and from the Equal Suffrage League of Shreveport. A very thorough and intensive campaign will be carried on by this committee. Already the New Orleans headquarters are humming with activity and plans are being made to open headquarters in Baton Rouge. Since it is very difficult to get enough space for large headquarters there, a good-sized tent will be pitched opposite the Capitol, from which the lobbying committee will work. The ground for this tent has already been rented.

The National Woman's Party has had an organization in Louisiana for some years and has conducted several campaigns throughout the state. Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson, National Organizer; Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, National Political Chairman; Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, State Chairman for Delaware; Miss Mary Winsor of the National Advisory Council; Miss Vivian Pierce and Miss Mary Dubrow, National Organizers, have all campaigned in Louisiana.

Mrs. Anne Calvert Neely, National Organizer, has recently taken a poll of the Louisiana Congressional delegation. She found that Senator Ransdall, who consistently voted for the Federal amendment in the Senate, is most eager that the Louisiana legislature ratify, and intends to do everything in his power to bring this about. Representative Aswell, who also voted for the amendment, is equally anxious that Louisiana should take her place among the Southern states that have ratified. None of the delegation intends to oppose the amendment and the majority of them are anxious that it should go through.

Mrs. Neely and Miss Vivian Pierce are stationed in Louisiana as organizers for the Woman's Party. They are at present assisting the local branch in taking a poll of the legislature, and in securing the support of the political leaders for ratification.

The Governor of Vermont Still Straddles

Catherine Flanagan and Elsie Hill, the national organizers who have been at work in Vermont, were called to Delaware to assist in the critical situation there, but the Vermont campaign has been continued by local suffragists. Appeals have gone to Governor Clement from all over the state, and two deputations of hundreds of women, have called upon him to present their demands for a special session. To these demands, Governor Clement replied:

> "I have not been at any time opposed to suffrage and have taken no position on that question. Whenever the State of Vermont shall pass upon that question, in whatever the state decides to do, we all shall acquiesce. I think it is very desirable that the state—when I say the state I do not mean a part of the state, I mean the whole state, I mean the people who hold the right of suffrage—should control this question. I think these people who have this right to express their wish in regard to this important matter are the ones to whom we should leave the decision."

Mrs. Albion Lang, of Windsor, who has joined the Advisory Council of the Woman's Party, is assisting in the active campaign in Vermont, with Mrs. J. Borden Estee, also a Vermont member of the Advisory Council.

In Connecticut

Pressure continues in Connecticut upon Governor Holcomb. Senators McLean and Brandegee are now favoring ratification, as well as the Republican Congressmen. Chairman Homer S. Cummings, of the Democratic National Committee, who is a native of Connecticut, is putting forth his efforts to secure the support of the Democrats of the State. Miss Paul went to Hartford early in April for an extended conference with the Executive Board of the Connecticut Branch of the Woman's Party, in which plans were laid for future work.

Republican leaders of Connecticut have been active in their efforts to secure action from Governor Holcomb. A Republican Ratification Committee has been formed with Colonel Isaac Ullman as chairman.

(*Continued on page* 73)

The Changing Life of Women in Japan

Editor's Note—The following article about Japanese women is based on information given by government officials with long experience in the Far East, but who, because of their connection with the government, are not willing to be directly quoted.

BEFORE certain foreign influences took possession of the religious, social and political life of Japan, women held an enviable position among these naturally progressive people. In Japanese mythology the spiritual ruler of the country was a goddess, Tensho the sun goddess. In the early political life of the country women took an active part and were even military leaders, as for example, the first empress, Jinju Kogu, conquerer of Korea. Japanese literature was largely created by women and the writings of two women, Manrasaki Shikibu and Seisho Nagen, are the standard classics of the country.

From Power to Helplessness

The influences that changed the position of Japanese women from one of active participation in the life of the nation to that of sheltered and dependent creatures were not Japanese in origin. The strongest of these influences, the Chinese philosophy of Confucius, for many years dominated the social and political life of the nation and taught that woman is by nature a dependent and helpless being and that the order of the universe requires that she obey first her father, then her husband and finally her son. The ethical philosophy of Buddha that came to Japan from India held women to be unclean creatures. And finally the Chinese custom of foot binding adopted by the women of the noble class made every woman who practiced it virtually a cripple and rendered her willy-nilly a helpless and dependent being doomed to lead the life of a shut-in.

The adoption of these foreign influences and customs, together with the establishment of the feudal system which hedged women in with its system of alleged chivalry completed the sequestration of women in Japan. Their lives and influence became confined entirely to the home. There they often had great power; so great that it sometimes reached beyond the home into the life of the nation as in the case of the mothers of several emperors who influenced them almost absolutely.

It is interesting to note that the women of the poorer classes never sank to the position of complete dependence and sequestration reached by those of the noble class. In the first place the foreign influences of China and India never permeated the poorer and less educated classes to the same extent that they did the noble class and in the second place the poorer women could not afford to stay at home in dependent idleness; economic necessity drove them out into the fields and shops to work beside their menfolks and required them to keep their feet as God made them.

After the Revolution of 1868

The revolution of 1868 ended the Tokugawa dynasty and with it feudalism and much of the social structure of the old regime. The position of women was changed as by a miracle. Almost immediately they were given equal opportunity in the primary, grammar and normal schools and very soon they were pressed into the industrial life of the country. The factory system seized upon them and as has been the case in every other country they were at first shamefully exploited by this system. Their living conditions were bad and their working hours as dangerously long as their wages were dangerously small. Then the government undertook a careful investigation, regulations and inspections plus the increased demand for labor have improved the condition of the Japanese working girl. It is true that she still works more hours than do our women in industry, but this fact is due not to exploitation, but to national conditions. For the Japanese work without our hustle and intensive concentration; they work longer because they work in a more leisurely way. Their shops, for instance, are open until late at night because so many of the day hours of both shopper and shoppee have been spent in conversation. On the whole the condition of the Japanese woman in industry is good and they are now employed in almost all trades and in governmental work, including railways and munitions. Nor do they hesitate to go on strike to improve working conditions.

Art and Politics

Japanese universities are now open to women and many women's colleges have been established. Also there are more women teachers than men. Women are again exercising an influence on the literary life of the nation and Japan can boast such living writers as Akiko Yoshano and Kikuye Yamakawa. A number of magazines and weeklies devoted entirely to the interests of women have large circulations and hold their own from a literary standpoint.

Japanese women are still entirely disfranchised, but this is also true of 25 per cent of the men. The property qualification imposed on the male vote excludes from the franchise 25 per cent of the male inhabitants of the country. A party led by Ozaki, the very intelligent and progressive ex-mayor of Tokyo, is planning a fight for full male and female suffrage in the next national parliament. There is also a strong suffrage party among the women in which numbers of prominent and influential women are workers.

Fisherwomen Take a Hand

The movement for political rights for women was greatly strengthened in Japan by the success of the rice riots of August, 1918. This was a political revolt with an economic base started and widely participated in by women. It began among the fisherwomen of one of the northern provinces. The menfolks of these women are away most of the time on their fishing trips, which leaves the women to manage the family affairs as best they can. Rice, the food necessity of the Japanese, went higher and

(*Continued on page 79*)

They Say——In Words

Alice Paul, Optimist

Miss Paul does not seem to be discouraged by the defeat of the equal suffrage amendment in Delaware last Thursday. She is confident that it will have better luck this week.

This is the mental attitude to be expected of the suffragists. If they had been easily disheartened they would not have succeeded in persuading Congress to submit the amendment to the states and after it had been submitted they would not have secured its ratification by thirty-five states.

They are in a fair way to demonstrate that if any one wants a thing hard enough he will get it. Consequently the Delaware Legislature is up against forces the power of which it does not yet seem to realize.—Philadelphia *Evening Ledger,* May 5.

ON Delaware, hesitating in the face of the opportunity to enfranchise women of America, is turned the spot-light of the country's attention. States secure in their own ratification are ready to cry "shame" upon any other state that blocks their will, while the four or five which have not yet acted are watching with eagerness, hoping that Delaware will leave the chance to them.

The Colorado Springs *Gazette* of March 26 calls out the following warning to the little eastern state:

> "Opportunity is knocking at Delaware's door. Thirty-five states have ratified the Federal suffrage amendment. Thirty-six are needed to make the amendment effective. The Delaware legislature is the only one in session. No others will be in session before the presidential election next fall, unless special sessions are called in Vermont and Connecticut, the only Republican states remaining which have not ratified, and this seems unlikely. So Delaware is in a position to give the women of the United States the right to vote next November. And she is hesitating. What is that about one knock?"

The Los Angeles *Evening Herald* in this editorial of April 3 attacks rather than warns:

> "Refusal by the Delaware legislature to ratify the Federal woman suffrage amendment does not defeat it. It merely postpones the date of the amendment's going into effect.
>
> "Since Delaware rejected the honor of being the pivotal state—the 36th—to consummate ratification, some other state will win that honor.
>
> "The cause is not belittled. Only Delaware is belittled.
>
> "How strange it is that small and inconsequential states or individuals often commit acts so mean, narrow or parochial as to proclaim their inferiority, and present themselves in a ridiculous light to all beholders. They seem incapable of seeing what will be the effects of the publicity which attends their petty acts. To such the words of Bobbie Burns apply:
>
> "'Oh, wad some pow'r the Giftie gi'e us,
> To see oursel's as ithers see us.'"

While the Dayton *Evening Herald* of April 2 finds the delay in suffrage ratification a "sad commentary" on the political leaders in the opposed states:

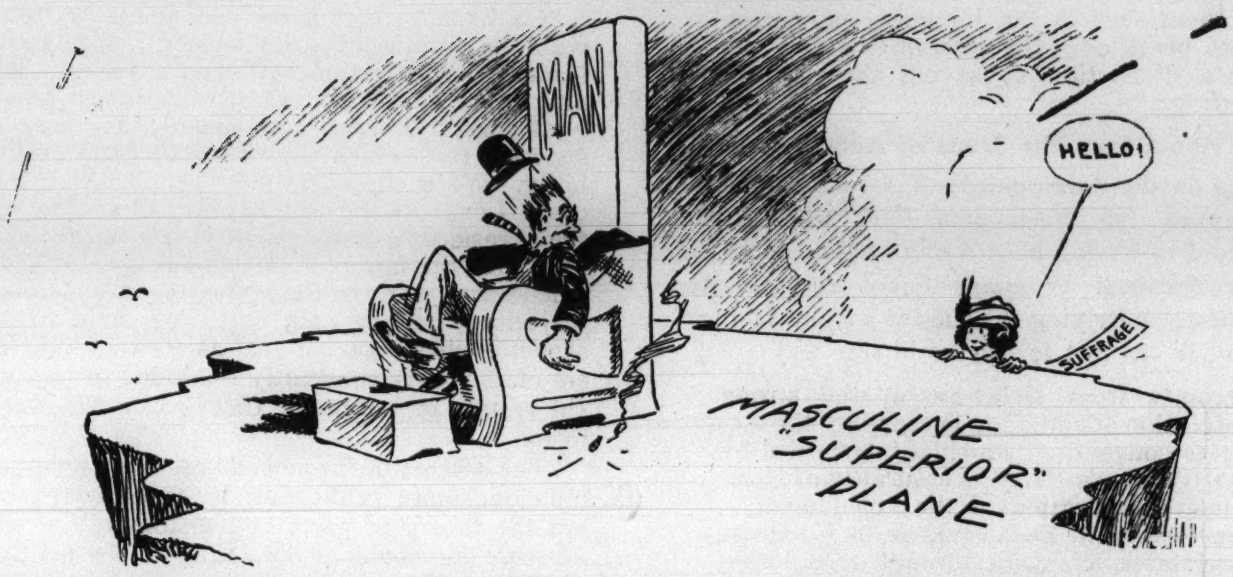
> "It is impossible to understand the stubborn opposition that exists in Mississippi, Delaware and Connecticut to woman suffrage.
>
> "In Mississippi one day this week the Senate of the state legislature approved the Susan B. Anthony amendment by a good majority, only for the House to reject it almost two to one a couple of days afterwards. The whole incident has all the earmarks of 'playing horse' with this serious and vital question.
>
> "Then in Delaware yesterday the House, in which it was expected that the vote would be at least very close, rejected the amendment by a vote of 22 to 9.
>
> "Add to this the unseemly belligerent attitude of Governor Holcomb of Connecticut, who, in the face of earnest requests from the state convention of his own party, from the national leaders of the party and from a majority of the state lawmakers themselves, refuses to call the legislature in special session to ratify the amendment, and you have a triangular situation that is most discouraging.
>
> "It also is a sad commentary on the intelligence, spirit of justice and fair play, and progressiveness, to say nothing of the political wisdom, of the men in control of affairs in these respective states.
>
> "It is to be sincerely hoped that the women will keep a complete list of all these obstructionists and that one of the first big things they do when they get the ballot, as they certainly will sooner or later, will be to relegate these gentlemen to private life, where they belong. If they will do that they will perform a distinctive service to the body politic and to the nation at large."

The Dayton *Journal* on its part speculates as it says "charitably" on the stubbornness of the "misfit" governors who have refused special sessions for ratification:

> "To what state will go the honor and credit of being the thirty-sixth to ratify the Susan B. Anthony amendment?
>
> "Will it be Republican Delaware, or will it be Democratic Louisiana, which hitherto has been strongly arrayed against 'votes for women,' but which within the last week has manifested unmistakable signs of wavering? Also, there are Republican Vermont and Connecticut, whose solons are understood to be favorably disposed toward the amendment, but whose governors are standing out like adamant against calling their respective law-making bodies into special session. Can these two stubborn individuals, who—we speak charitably—are misfits in the high offices they occupy, be made to see the error of their course, and can they be prevailed upon to do the thing that fully 90 per cent of the people of the country wish and expect them to do?
>
> "We do not know. No one knows. But this much is certain: The Susan B. Anthony amendment is certain to be ratified, and it is inconceiv-

(*Continued on page 70*)

In Cartoons



THE GRAND RUSH OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE

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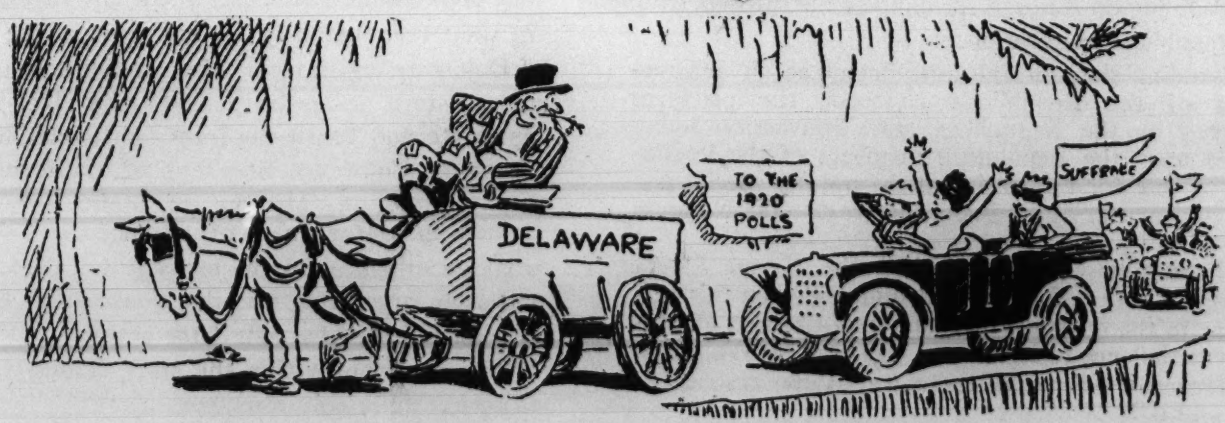
BEWARE OF A WOMAN - FOOLED



Top—Brown in Chicago Daily News; Left Center—Ding in the New York Tribune; Right Center—Westermann in the Ohio State Journal; Below—from Dayton (Ohio) Herald.

able that ratification will be delayed long enough to prevent the women of the United States from voting in next November's election. Some one of the states mentioned in the foregoing paragraph is certain to break over the reservations and win the enviable distinction of saving the day for woman suffrage."

A Tribute from the Scene of Action

Commenting on the development of the suffrage situation in Delaware, the Washington *Post,* which could never be accused of having been a blind adherent to the policy of the National Woman's Party, recently described the causes underlying the sudden advancement of the amendment in the last few years in this way:

"Word comes from Delaware of the strong suffrage resolution adopted on Tuesday by the Republican state convention, which is interpreted by the National Woman's Party as assurance of Delaware's ultimate ratification of the amendment.

"Suffrage victory in Delaware, as in Congress and in other states, has come through recognition by politicians that suffrage victory was for the good of their party. Until suffrage became a matter of political expediency it was made the tribute of flowery speeches and pleasant jests, but not of votes.

"Credit for bringing the suffrage issue into the realm of practical politics must go largely to the leaders of the National Woman's Party. Beginning in 1913 with the formation of their party to work for the Federal amendment, they have consistently maintained the policy of party responsibility. While the amendment was before a Democratic Congress they dinned into the public's ears the President's responsibility, as leader of his party, for the fate of Federal suffrage. When the amendment went to the states for ratification, the majority party in each state was held to strict accountability, and national as well as local leaders of the party constantly reminded of the political results of failure of their party followers to ratify.

"The success of the amendment, now waiting for only one more ratification to be complete, bears out the theory of party responsibility, and leaves no room for doubt of the ability in the gentle art of politics of the women who conceived and carried it into effect."

Delaware's Second Chance

(*Continued from page* 55)

amendment which grants to women the freedom of America."

This reference to suffrage ratification was greeted with a spontaneous outburst of applause that rocked the auditorium for a period of several minutes.

Resuming his theme, Mr. Houston said:

"This response is very pleasing to me, for now I know that the Republican party of Delaware stands for equal suffrage. I hope the state that prides herself on her Republicanism will hearken to the voice of the Republican party in granting this right. It is only the right of common justice that our women be given an opportunity to stand by our side in life. I am sure Abraham Lincoln's immortal words were meant for this particular thing. 'The duty falls upon you to see that free government does not perish from the earth.' "

The authentic voice of the convention spoke when Walter O. Hoffecker of Symrna, a suffrage convert who had become a trusted ally of the suffragists, read the resolution on suffrage as chairman of the resolutions committee, and a pandemonium of cheers finally drowned the speaker's voice.

The Wilmington *News* in speaking of the suffrage triumph at the Republican convention, says:

"Lauding the suffrage amendment as an achievement of the Republican congress, the platform adopted by the Republican state convention today called upon the Republican members of the legislature to vote for ratification at the present special session as a matter of paramount interest to the National Republican party.

"Tumultous applause rocked the Grand Opera house for a period of several minutes when this reference to the question that has been a source of constant turbulence to legislators was read by Walter O. Hoffecker, of Smyrna, secretary of the resolutions committee."

Not a dissenting voice was lifted against the suffrage resolution. One of the interested observers in Dover during the convention and demonstration of the suffragists was Governor Townsend, from the inception of the campaign in Delaware, one of the friends of the ratification movement, who has been outspoken in his championship of suffrage. From the first Governor Townsend realized that the historic tradition of his state could not be belittled by a failure to ratify. Under fire from political enemies, he never retreated from this position.

Recess Means Work for Suffragists

Following the triumphant party affirmation on behalf of suffrage the Delaware legislature on April 21 adjourned for a recess until May 5. An attempt on the part of the enemies of suffrage to prevent reconsideration in spite of the action of the state convention, was defeated. During the twelve days' recess the statewide campaign to build sentiment behind the measure goes on, organized by suffragists in every county.

A constant stream of protests and appeals for ratification both from outside and inside the state have served to fix their responsibility for suffrage failure on the minds of Delaware legislators. Many governors of both eastern and western states have asked that Delaware give the last state and finish the long fight, including Governors Shoup of Colorado, Stephens of California, Bartlett of New Hampshire, Milliken of Maine, Frazier of North Dakota and Burnquist of Minnesota. The Republican women's organizations of many states added their appeals, and such large groups as the Nonpartisan League and the Macabees have also asked for action.

Pressure from within the state comes constantly from all sources. Resolutions from meetings in all sections go to the members of the legislature day by day, and such

organizations as the Blue Rock and Century Clubs of Wilmington, the state and local granges, the State Federation of Women's Clubs, the Wilmington City Republican Club, the Kent County Republican Committee, the Kent County Temperance Union, the Woman's Trade Union League have put the strength of their whole membership behind their demand. From cities from the Eastern to the Pacific Coast a stream of messages indicate the close interest of the "outside" in the Delaware situation.

What the Delaware Legislators Say

The following statements have been made by Republican members of the legislature itself:

Senator John M. Walker, who introduced the suffrage amendment in the Delaware Senate:

> "The Republican party in both the state and the nation have made the enfranchisement of women their concern and responsibility. The Delaware legislature has had a fresh expression from the party on this matter through the resolution passed by the state convention on Tuesday and we Republicans must stand by our party.
>
> "I am particularly proud to stand for the political freedom of American women. Through my experience of recent years when I have witnessed the efforts of suffragists for their enfranchisement through both state and national action I believe that Delaware has produced the greatest champion of suffrage in the United States—Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles of the National Woman's Party. I know that Delaware will stand by its own women and the women of the nation."

From **Senator John G. Highfield,** one of the newly elected members of the Senate:

> "I believe that Delaware politics and national politics will be made better and purer by reason of the participation of women in the public affairs of our country. Ratification of the amendment will inject into the body politic an element which will exert the same benign influence that it already has exerted in social, religious and civic lines whereever and whenever it has had an opportunity to exert its influence."

Representative Silas J. Warrington, a leader in Sussex County, where the opposition to suffrage has been centered and who did not vote when the measure was defeated in the House on April 1, came out for the amendin the following pledge:

> "I am glad to take this opportunity to state publicly that I for one feel ready to cooperate with the Republicans of our state and of the nation and will endeavor to do all in my power to ratify the federal suffrage amendment. I feel that it is particularly encumbent on us as Republican members of the legislature to make our suffrage stand public now in view of the action of our Republican state convention last Tuesday. As one of the Republicans

Suffragists Inside and Out of the Delaware Legislature

(Left to Right, 1st Row) Senator Walker who introduced the suffrage resolution in the Senate; Miss Catherine Flannagan, National organizer of the Woman's Party; Senator Highfield; Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Delaware chairman of the Woman's Party; Miss Katherine Hilles; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, national ratification chairman of the Woman's Party; Senator Pool. (2d Row) Senator Robertson, Mr. McCommons, Senator James Allee, Mr. Creamer, Representative Brooks, Representative Hart who introduced the resolution in the House, Senator Long, Senator Price, and Senator Hardy.

of Sussex county, which has always stood for the principles of the Republican party, I hope that Delaware will complete the record of the Republican party on suffrage."

From **Representative William H. Danzenbaker,** who did not vote on the amendment on April 1, has since come out with this promise of support:

"I was particularly gratified with the action of the Republican state convention Tuesday, on suffrage, for the Republicans of Delaware have always stood by the party in every emergency. Many of us who have been suffragists for some time feel we would like to make plain the fact now that we intend to vote for ratification of the federal suffrage amendment in view of the resolution passed by the state convention urging favorable action by the Republican members of the legislature. I am glad to be able to say that I am in accord with my party's stand on ratification."

Senator Frank R. Pool, one of the stanch supporters of suffrage:

"I believe in suffrage and shall support the ratification resolution when it comes up for action in the Senate. Every Republican should vote for ratification. It is a responsibility of the Republican party."

Senator James W. Robertson, one of the original suffragists of the legislature:

"I have always stood for suffrage and shall vote for ratification of the suffrage amendment when it comes up in the Senate. The Republican party stands unqualifiedly for ratification of the 19th amendment."

Representative William Lyons, Jr., Republican floor leader:

"The Republican party has taken upon itself the responsibility for the ratification of the federal suffrage amendment and the Republican members of the Delaware legislature, I believe, will seize this opportunity to prove their loyalty to their party and to the principles of liberty for which that party stands by ratifying the amendment when it comes up in the legislature again. As a Republican and a suffragist I want Delaware to act favorably."

Representative Theodore W. Francis:

"I am heartily in favor of the suffrage amendment and will vote for ratification when the question again comes before the House. This is a matter of justice to American women and Delaware should do her part."

Representative William H. Jakes:

"As a firm believer in equal suffrage and desirous of supporting the declarations of the Republican party in its favor, I shall vote for the ratification amendment."

Representative William C. Brooks:

"As a member of the Republican party and a representative in the legislature at this time I believe it my privilege and duty to vote for the ratification of the suffrage amendment."

Representative John C. Buckson:

"I believe in liberty for American women as well as for American men and to that end I shall do everything in my power to secure the ratification of the Anthony amendment at this special session of the Delaware legislature."

Representative Willard S. Gregg:

"I have always stood for suffrage and expect to see Delaware finish the long struggle for the political freedom of America by ratifying the federal amendment."

Women's Colleges and the New Order

(*Continued from page* 61)

than half their experience and knowledge, who threaten to go elsewhere if their masculine preëminence is not speedily acknowledged. Sometimes, as in a recent notorious case, the men on a faculty are given a bonus denied the women, a measure of "justice" explained by the trustees on the ground of the greater "need" of men with families than of single women, and that without the slightest pretence of inquiry into the need assumed, although such an inquiry would have shown that several of the men had rich wives and that many of the women were supporting parents and other relatives on their meager salaries.

The new political power of women will certainly help the colleges and their graduates toward self-conscious functioning, but only if it is regarded seriously as a challenge to old methods of education. The traditional classical culture, conservative of the ancient ideal of woman as doll and mistress, must give way to the scientific and modern ideal of woman as mother and worker. Many sociologists go so far as to say that girls' education must be controlled from the start in the interests of the race, in such a way as to make motherhood and partnership in the state the conscious aims of every trained woman. This means not the forcing of students back into old paths but the opening out before them of many new ones. Responsibility must be insisted upon far more than at present. Women must be made to see that their constant changes of fashionable and extravagant clothes are a huge economic waste as well as an unhygienic risk; they must be taught the importance of food in its relation to individual health and to world requirements; they must have their eyes opened to cheap and false values in art and literature; they must above all acquire the scientific attitude toward themselves, their instincts and habits, so clearly that they will know and harmonize their own need of self-realization to the nation's need of development.

If our trained women were educated with such aims in view, they would see at this moment their great power as voters and they would use it to force real issues into the coming and every future campaign. They would continue, as a few have begun, to heckle the old-fashioned political leaders with demands about child protection and food production and regulation and the recognition of women and of minorities by the state. They would study such new movements as the Cooperative League of America and, open-mindedly putting aside fear of possible danger to the present social order in such movements, they would see what cooperation offers of promise for social welfare. They would force themselves and their ideas into legislatures and city councils and boards of health and boards of education and would insist upon being heard above the din of politics and the hashing up of property interests and of partisan measures which waste most of our legislators' time at present.

It is because women have made a beginning along these lines that men, like a recently quoted Mississippi assemblyman, would "rather go to hell than vote for suffrage," and that college professors cling to their prerogatives with masculine doggedness—they are "scared stiff!" They have no reason to be. Women only want to work with them for the welfare of the nation, but they must be allowed their fair half of responsibility and of opportunity.

Winifred Smith.

The 36th Place

(*Continued from page* 66)

Colonel Ullman, as chairman of this committee, gave a "ratification luncheon" at the Taft Hotel, in New Haven, at which Senator Selden Spencer of Missouri was the principal speaker. National headquarters of the Woman's Party was represented at this luncheon by Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, who spent several weeks in the state cooperating with the men's committee and the state branch of the Woman's Party.

Following this luncheon, the Republican Ratification Committee waited upon Governor Holcomb and presented to him the resolution passed by the Republican State Convention calling upon him to issue the call. In presenting the matter to the governor, Colonel Ullman said, in part:

> "When you called the special session to make arrangements so the boys at the border could vote, everybody was with you and I believe that everybody will be with you in this. In my personal judgment an emergency existed at that time and I believe that an emergency exists now. Delaware may ratify today or tomorrow. If she does not, I am reliably informed that North Carolina stands ready to ratify during the July session. If they do, the Democrats will get the benefit of this ratification, and the cry will go out that this right to vote was given them by a Democratic state and a Democratic governor."

Colonel Ullman also presented to the governor a telegram from former President Taft, which urged a special session, concluding with these words:

> "In my judgment, it is the duty of Governor Holcomb to call the legislature for this purpose. He owes it not only to the people of the state who elected him, but to the party whose candidate he was, and which in convention assembled has requested him to perform that duty."

Other prominent Republicans who attended the hearing and addressed the governor were: Hon. John T. Robinson; Mr. Harriman, of New Haven; Lieutenant-Governor Clifford B. Wilson; Hon. James F. Walsh, Speaker of the House; Mr. Frank Cheney; Mayor Donovan of Meridian; and Mr. Charles A. Goodwin, of Hartford, who presented a petition signed by prominent Republicans all over the state.

In a letter dated April 12, after the hearing, Governor Holcomb reiterated his former refusal to call the special session urged by his fellow party members. His letter is to Colonel Ullman and reads:

"My dear Colonel:

Yours of the 9th is received, in which you say that you have hopes that proofs will yet be presented to me which will convince me that an emergency exists regarding the calling of a special session. I am ready to receive the proofs.

"I do not agree with you that there is any parallel between woman suffrage and the conditions which induced me to call a special session to enable the soldiers at the Mexican border and in France to vote. In the case of the soldiers they were already electors and they would have had the right to exercise their privileges as electors if they had not forcibly been taken away from the state. Consequently the special emergency was to give them the means of exercising rights which they possessed. In the case of woman suffrage, the women have no such rights and those of them who desire it wish a special session to be called to give them rights which they do not now possess. I can see a clear distinction between the two conditions.

"This matter will be voted upon at the next regular session. I know of no instance in this state where a special session has been called to approve any Federal amendment, and I can see no special emergency which authorizes the governor to call one. If the electors of this state are not to be allowed to vote upon the Federal suffrage amendment it seems only fair that it should be acted upon by a general assembly selected with knowledge that it is to be acted upon by them.

"Very truly, yours,

"MARCUS H. HOLCOMB, Governor."

Other States Contribute

While the campaign thus goes on in North Carolina, Louisiana, Vermont, and Connecticut, as well as in Delaware, the interest of women all over the country is manifesting itself by contributions to the ratification fund. Texas has already sent over three thousand dollars through the effort of Mrs. Clara Snell Wolfe, of the Advisory Council of the Woman's Party, and other members of the state board. Of this amount Mr. George W. Brackinridge, of San Antonio, gave one thousand dollars. Miss Mary Winsor, of the national Advisory Council, is touring the Middle West, including in her itinerary Denver, Colorado Springs, Cheyenne, Sioux Falls, St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Milwaukee, where, through the cooperation of local suffragists, she has started money-raising campaigns. Mrs. William Kent, chairman of the Headquarters Maintenance Committee, spoke at a luncheon in Chicago as the guest of the Illinois Branch, which is also contributing to the ratification campaigns. The Pennsylvania Branch gave a luncheon in Philadelphia, at which Miss Paul and Mrs. Lawrence Lewis were the speakers when over a thousand dollars was subscribed. The Montclair, N. J., Branch has sent in several hundred dollars raised from a rummage sale, the Ohio Branch, over a thousand raised at a meeting in Columbus, and Mrs. Abby Scott Baker has collected five thousand dollars in New York City. Among those who have contributed large amounts during the past month are Mr. R. J. Caldwell, of New York; Mrs. John Gordon Battelle, of Columbus, Ohio; Mrs. William Kent, of California; Mrs. Verner Reed, of Denver, and Mrs. Charles Boughton Wood, of Connecticut.

Bills in Congress Relating to Women

Department Conducted by Sue S. White

Mothers' Pensions

REPRESENTATIVE RHODES, of Missouri, on April 17 introduced a bill (H. R. 13668) providing pensions for needy mothers having the custody of dependent children under the age of sixteen years. This bill is patterned after the mothers' pension laws in force in the several states, and provides for the payment of $16 per month when the mother has one child under the age of sixteen and $8 per month for each additional child under that age. Thirty-nine states and Alaska and Hawaii now have some form of mothers' pension laws, the first having been passed in Missouri in 1911 to apply to Jackson county. From this beginning the movement has spread until all the states have passed laws except Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Mexico, North Carolina, Rhode Island, and South Carolina.

The original law passed in Missouri in 1911 is unique as a piece of pioneer legislation. It has served as the pattern for most of the states and the Rhodes bill, when passed, will extend its principle to mothers in need of assistance in every part of the country and create a system of uniform Federal aid, to supplement the oft-times ineffective systems in the states. Mothers' pensions, according to the sponsors of the bill, seem to be second in importance only to suffrage, since they are so closely related to woman's economic independence. The need, they assert, is too vital to be left to the county courts or commissions, as some of the state laws provide, and a Federal law, such as Mr. Rhodes has introduced, is, they claim, the best and most direct way of applying the principle of mothers' pensions throughout the country and into the isolated rural sections, where it is often as greatly needed as in the cities of the richer counties.

The Rhodes bill has been referred to the Committee on Labor, composed of Representatives Smith of Michigan (chairman), Nolan of California, Hersey of Maine, Zihlman of Maryland, Gould of New York, Bland of Indiana, MacCrate of New York, Murphy of New York, Evans of Nebraska, Maher of New York, Casey of Pennsylvania, Carss of Minnesota, Major of Missouri, and Hoey of North Carolina. It is not expected that it will be passed this session, the reason given being the condition of the national treasury. Yet, when we think of the thousands of mothers with dependent children in the United States who are struggling to hold their little homes together, we marvel at the audacity and insincerity of the "woman's-place-is-in-the-home" type of lawmaker whose false economy would save money by withholding such assistance. The aid, under the provisions of the bill, would extend to the "natural mother, stepmother, grandmother, sister, aunt, or other female having the legal custody of such dependent child or children in her home." The bill has the approval of the Missouri State Board of Charities and other organizations.

Rank for Army Nurses

The Army Reorganization bill, including the section providing for rank for army nurses, has passed the Senate and House of Representatives, and is now in the hands of a conference committee. The section relating to nurses was sponsored by the National Committee to Secure Rank for Army Nurses, of which Mrs. Helen Hoy Greeley of Washington is counsel and acting head.

Labor

The bill (H. R. 13,229) introduced by Representative Campbell providing for the establishment in the Department of Labor of a Woman's Bureau passed the House of Representatives on April 19 and has gone to the Senate for consideration, where it has been referred to the Committee on Labor. This bill would make permanent the Woman's Bureau which was established temporarily as a result of the great influx of women into war industries. As the bill carries, however, no provisions for funds, the Appropriations Committee must therefore do its part or the bill will be totally ineffective when passed.

Naturalization

Congress seems to be "in for a struggle" on the naturalization laws, insofar as they relate to women. There is great objection to the patent discrimination against women resulting from the old-fashioned notion that one's personality is merged in that of her husband. How Congress will deal with it and how far-reaching will be the reform depends largely upon the force with which women press their demand for equality in this respect. The bill which goes further than any other is that introduced by Representative Anthony (H. R. 10,435), which provides that no distinction shall be made by any court in matters of naturalization of aliens because of sex, and opens the door of naturalization to women without regard to the failure, neglect, refusal or inability of the husband. It makes naturalization a matter for the individual woman, and not the mere automatic result of her coverture. It provides that American women now married to foreigners in the United States may resume their American citizenship, and that alien women who shall marry citizens of the United States shall retain their nationality until they comply with the naturalization laws the same as though they were not married. Alien-born children, under the provisions of this bill, may inherit citizenship through the naturalization of the mother the same as through the naturalization of the father.

The Anthony bill is still with the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, of which Representative Albert Johnson of Washington is chairman. The other members of this committee are Representative Isaac Siegel of New York, Harold Knutson of Minnesota, Roscoe C. McCulloch of Ohio, J. Will Taylor of Tennessee, John C. Kleczka of Wisconsin, William N. Vaile

of Colorado, Hayes B. White of Kansas, King Swope of Kentucky, Adolph J. Sabath of Illinois, John E. Raker of California, Riley J. Wilson of Louisiana, Benjamin F. Welty of Ohio, John C. Box of Texas, and L. B. Rainey of Alabama.

The Daughters of the American Revolution, in conference at Washington April 21, presented a resolution recommending legislation along these lines.

Maternity

The Sheppard-Towner bill (Senate 3259, House 10,925), providing for an appropriation to be used in cooperating with the states in promoting the care of maternity and infancy is before the Senate Committee on Public Health and National Quarantine and the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Civil Service

Senate Bill 3457, introduced by Senator McLean, providing for an amendment to Civil Service law so that certificates for the eligible list shall not specify sex, is before the Senate Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment.

House Bill 11,234, introduced by Representative Fess, providing for an amendment to the Civil Service law so that the Civil Service Commission shall consist of five persons, not less than two of them women, is before the House Committee on Reform in the Civil Service.

The Home Maker and Industry

Department Conducted by Marie L. Obenauer

POLITICIANS of all ages and all sections have gathered about the modern Sphinx, which, like the original, has the head of a woman and promises to destroy those who fail to read her riddle right. The modern Sphinx is the "silent vote" of the millions of women just crossing the threshold of complete enfranchisement. This vote will far outweigh the vote of the articulate woman, however vigorous and arresting the articulation may be, and will come unquestionably from the women whose chief interests lie in the business of home-making. The riddle they propound is, "Where will their vote be cast on election day?"

We know so little about the things that trouble and the things that help the home-making woman. For years, through our government, we have informed ourselves about all the assets and liabilities which enter into the economics of every business and industry in the country. When election day approaches, planks are sawed and shaved by party platform-makers to fit the interests of the farmer, the miner and the manufacturer. But how to make a plank which will win the approval of these millions of silent-vote women—that is another phase of the riddle.

Women and the New Census

The answer would be simpler if the business of home-making were labeled as an occupation and given a place in the United States census.

"What is to be gained by counting housekeepers as occupied?" runs the comment. "The United States census already costs us millions of dollars and preempts tons of paper when both dollars and paper are scarce. Is it worth the added thousands it will cost in dollars, and the increased area of paper it will preempt, to label the millions of housekeepers as workers? It is no less an occupation because it is not counted in the census, and the lack of a label does not make it less indispensable to the nation's life."

The comment starts at an imaginary point in the field of census operations. It imagines that the census stops with the label, whereas the label is just the beginning. It is the sign-post directing to important information—information by which policies are shaped and progress is made. Turn to the scores of census volumes and run your fingers along the labels until you come to "Agriculture," for example. In the wealth of information which lies below this label you will find the basis for legislation already enacted and for pending bills designed to eliminate crop failures, to reduce the acreage of exhausted soils, and to stem the tide of humans from farm to city. In the information the manufacturer of agricultural implements can find out just how many farmers of the country have tractors, and in the census of manufacturers how many establishments are making tractors, and from the two he can figure out pretty closely what the probable market for his product is. But the makers of washing machines and other labor-saving devices cannot turn to any labels in the United States census which will tell them how many farmers' wives or how many wives of factory owners or factory workers have washing machines or running water throughout the house, or sewerage systems, gas ranges, or other equipment to facilitate the business of home-making.

So important do we regard each line of industry in the country that the United States census has a special schedule constructed with minute reference to the peculiar conditions under which each industry must operate. These special schedules are in addition to the general industrial schedule. From the information on both, we have been informed from census to census just how much labor each industry uses in each month of the year and what it has paid for such labor; what sort and how much fuel it burns, and what power it uses, and at what cost. We know the amount of raw material that is absorbed by each industry in the manufacture of its finished products, and we know what wealth it yields in return for the labor and wealth it absorbs. In short, we know the relative importance of the industry to the country, we know what progress it has made, and to what extent its handicaps have been removed or reduced. All this we know about every business and industry that the United States census deems worthy of a label. When election time comes around, therefore, there is plenty of material

out of which to make party planks. But not so with the business of home-making, for not having won a label and a place in the census count, it is enshrouded in the fog of conjecture so far as its progress and handicaps are concerned.

Immigration and Domestic Labor

There is much controversy at the present time over the regulation of immigration. There has been also for many years an incessant cry for household labor, but we have no nation-wide information concerning the amount of labor used in the home by which we could shape intelligently our immigration laws in the interests of the business of home-making. Recently, speakers before the Interracial Council in New York bemoaned the fact that two out of three immigrants were women or "unproductive labor," and pressed the question as to how the inflow of "unproductive labor" could be stemmed and the inflow of male or "productive labor" stimulated. The speakers, according to the papers, pressed their argument with figures showing the seriousness of the labor shortage in American commerce and industry. In spite of the ceaseless cry for domestic help, there was no one there with any figures to present the need for this "unproductive labor" in the homes of the millions of indoor working wives and mothers who are carrying on the most important business of the nation.

. . . . . .

Again, since the close of the war there have been a number of more or less noisy starts in a "nation-wide movement" for Americanization, for introducing into the homes of our foreign-born, American standards of living. So far as the press reports reveal, it would seem that none of the movers has remembered that there is as yet no reliable nation-wide guide to American standards of living in actual practice, as compared with the actual standards of living in effect in the various groups of foreign-born among us. The importance of such a guide lies in the indisputable fact that we cannot lift the foreign family above the level of the American family. It is well, therefore, to know just what the actual level of the American family is. The nation-wide movement will then be directed toward lifting where lifting is most needed, and the engineers of the movement will be guided in their work by knowing just how much of a lift the differences in standards require. That this lack of nation-wide information is not theory, but stubborn fact, will be revealed by a search for some very simple and concrete things—but things in which American ideals live or die—in the business of home-making. For example:

What is the prevailing age of marriage for the American-born man and woman as compared with the foreign-born man and woman by country of nativity?

For given number of years of married life, what is the average number of children in the American family by specified income groups, as compared with the corresponding groups among the foreign-born?

At what ages are the boys and girls of American families going to work as compared with the ages of the foreign-born boys and girls among us?

How many persons per room are there in the average American family as compared with the number per room in the homes of those of foreign birth and extraction?

How is the average American home equipped as to water, sewerage pipes, lights, cooking gas, and other labor-saving devices, and what are the corresponding facilities in the immigrant home?

How many American women with children under school ages have help, as compared with the immigrant wife and mother?

In what industries are American wage-earners engaged principally?

Which industries are drawing most heavily upon each of the foreign groups among us, and which industries, therefore, are most closely linked to the foreign groups having menacingly low or encouragingly high standards of living?

For a clearly developed policy of Americanization and an achieving progress in its conduct, it would seem that such basic information as this was indispensable. If home-making were regarded as of much importance as making rubber or machines, or raising crops and cattle, we would have the information for the nation as a whole, instead of the data from "selected localities" collected intermittently by investigators using varying methods of investigation. . . . . .

A singular circumstance about the lack of information on this subject is that a large proportion of the necessary questions are already on the schedules which are used in this census, and which have been used in previous national counts. For example, the general population schedule calls for the sex, age, conjugal condition, race, nativity and occupation of the head of the family; and for the relation, sex, age, occupation, or school attendance of each member of the household. These data properly correlated would show at least how many women were heads of families and were also occupied outside of the home. It would show how many children of specified ages there were in families by race, nativity and occupation; in fact, the combinations properly made would throw light on scores of fundamental questions about the business of home-making in America.

Millions for a Census—But Not One Cent for Women

When preparations for the current census were in the early makings, in the spring of 1919, and, in fact, when the bill authorizing the current census was still before Congress, the Director of the Census was asked whether a few questions could not be added to the general schedule which would throw light on some of the fundamentals of American home-making as well as upon questions affecting the economic status of the wage-earning woman in the home, and whether the whole might not be made a special bulletin among the issues of 1920. This would not violate any precedents of the census, as the bulletins incorporating the results of the census for 1900 contained a special publication on women at work, all of which had been drawn from the general population schedule.

The Director's answer concerning the additional ques-

tions was to show a copy of the pending bill, whose phraseology barred out a number of the questions essential to developing the information needed. "Pressure for time" was the reason for objecting strenuously to any delay in the bill with a view to an amendment giving the needed elasticity. "Not without an additional appropriation," was the answer to a request that the data already called for on the schedule, and bearing upon the conditions of home-making, be assembled and published. That any just claim for the consideration of women's interests could rest against the regular appropriation of $10,000,000 would of course be the woman's view of the matter, but as there are no women among the ultimate authorities establishing census policies and allotting census funds for the scores of general and special bulletins, the woman's viewpoint is not expressed, and the interests of the wageless and the wage-working woman alike are ignored or obscured except where their activities happen to be identical with or parallel to those of men.

There is no reason to blame or bluster at the men for this situation. Women not only have been slow to put themselves in a position where they could command a reasonable return for the money which they, too, pay in taxes that bear the expense of the census, but they have been equally slow in recognizing the serious consequences of permitting home-making to be "of no account" in the national count. Only recently are they taking serious note of the confusion that darkens councils on minimum wages and industrial training because of the lack of adequate information. But that is another story for another time.

Books and the Woman

Department Conducted by Alice Henry

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF FEMINISM

RECENT world changes have given rise to dissatisfaction with every kind of literature that was new or not very old before the war. We find it so inadequate to our needs. A century of ordinary living could not have made books and treatises more completely out of date, unless indeed they be great books, with a great human contribution, in an original setting and greatly expressed. This criticism is strikingly applicable to works dealing with the woman movement, because of the recent revolutionary changes in woman's position.

Incidentally, many of the books published today on the woman question are not perfect, but we have the advantage of seeing them as close-ups. And any defects are still veiled for us, a little, by the fact that their subject matter deals with the very text of our own lives, as we are living them from day to day. Of these we can therefore afford to be a little less critical, since they have for us just the same sort of temporary contribution as the now so out-of-date treatises on women's abstract rights had for our mothers and grandmothers.

I believe, however, that on the whole, the ordinary books of today do measure up to better standards, and to standards, too, that are constantly rising. We are far severer critics when it comes to accuracy as to facts. We are still somewhat reckless in the drawing of inferences, and theorizing in keeping with our own personal predilections is all too frequent. But even here we are being called to time. Both the historian and the psychologist are setting an aim for us, and we dare not long hold back. Literary form and adequacy of expression we have undervalued, and undervalue still.

I have tried to make this bibliography include typical books that have been bequeathed to us, that have stood the test of time, a few of them the test of centuries of time. Remember, too, this is a very short, selected list, intended only as an introduction to standard and contemporary literature. Nothing short of a volume would really cover the field.

It has been my effort to summarize, as far as possible, enough of the literature of the last century and of the present day on the woman movement, and on some of the allied subjects, to make a list of books that will be helpful to the newly enfranchised women, voting citizens of the United States. Enfranchised, or soon to be. How soon?

Certain loose divisions suggest themselves.

One class contains books dealing with the history and development of women, and also of the woman movement, as a distinct and distinguishable stream in world evolution. Outside of records of facts, there are a great many books in circulation which discuss theories of feminism, anti-feminism, and middle-of-the-road philosophy. The most commonly debated questions are the relation of woman to man, of woman to humanity, of both man and woman to marriage and children and society.

There are certain other books and reports which are concerned quite definitely with woman and modern industry, where woman plays so striking and, alas, often, so casual a part.

There are a few biographies, and some collections of brief lives of notable women, from early times until today.

There are the books that are not books, as Charles Lamb called them, which are quite indispensable, nevertheless, to get the full good of other books. Such are works of reference, handbooks of all sorts, manuals of every kind.

Lastly, there is "Miscellaneous," convenient appellation for listing whatever slips from under more exact classification. It includes some fiction, both in the novel and dramatic form, and even a little poetry.

If a sense of disappointment has at times depressed me, on the whole the backward prospect is golden with encouragement. And the future--the future is in the hands of the young. And the young are taking up their task—young women in perhaps even greater numbers than their brothers.

Only a part of the bibliography compiled by Miss Henry follows; it will be completed in the June issue.

The Woman Movement—General Discussion

Advance of Woman, Jane Johnstone Christie. Lippincott, 1913.

Autobiography in 3 vols., Harriet Martineau. Osgood, 1887. Of very great value; for the period from 1820 to 1870.

Business of Being a Woman, Ida M. Tarbell. Macmillan, 1912,

Common Sense About Women, T. W. Higginson. Lee and Shepard, 1882, Boston.

Feminism, Its Fallacies and Follies, John and P. M. Martin. Dodd Mead, 1916.

Feminism in Germany and Scandinavia, Katherine Anthony. Holt, 1915. A book of permanent value.

Health and the Woman Movement, Dr. Clelia Mosher. Woman's Press. 1919.

Home, The, Its Work and Influence, Charlotte P. Gilman. McClure, 1903. A bright popularized statement of Mrs. Gilman's social philosophy.

Lady, The, Emily James Putnam. Sturgis and Walton, 1910. A brilliant analysis of the social status of the woman of privilege in many periods.

Making of Women, The, Maude Royden and Others. Macmillan, 1918.

Man-Made World, The, Charlotte P. Gilman. The Charlton Co., 1911.

Maternity. Letters from Working Women, London, 1915. Presents a tragic picture, drawn by the women themselves of the utter neglect by society of the mother, upon whom the very continuance of society rests.

Pioneer Work in Opening the Medical Profession to Women, Elizabeth Blackwell. Longman's, 1895.

Rights of Women—A Comparative Study in History and Legislation, M. Ostrogorski. Scribner, 1893.

Science of Power, The, Benjamin Kidd. Putnam, 1918. Lays remarkable stress on the untouched reserves of social power in the woman half of the population. American edition has a curious introduction by Franklin Giddings.

Survey of the Woman Problem, Rosa Mayreder. Translated from the German. Doran, 1913.

Towards a Sane Feminism, Wilma Meikle. G. Richards, 1916. London. One of the younger English feminists.

Truth About Woman, The, Mrs. C. G. Hartley Gallichan. London Nash, 1913. Mrs. Gallichan is always thoughtful and suggestive.

What Eight Million Women Want, Rheta Childe Dorr. Small Maynard, 1910.

What Women Want. An interpretation of the woman movement, Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale. Stokes, 1914.

Why Women Are So, Mary Roberts Coolidge. Holt, 1912. "Of all modifications which economic and political liberation will work in the character of women, the most important is the development of a social conscience."

Woman, Vance Thompson. Dutton, 1917. Chiefly interesting as the work of an enthusiastic man feminist.

Women and Economics. A study of the Economic Relation between Men and Women, Charlotte P. Gilman. Small, 1898.

Woman and Labor, Oliver Scheiner. Stokes, 1911. The writer thinks through her subject so well that this is indispensable in the smallest collection.

Woman Movement, The, Ellen Key. Putnam, 1912. Introduction by Havelock Ellis.

Women Question, The, T. R. Smith. Boni-Liveright, 1919. Compiled from Ellen Key, Havelock Ellis, Lowes Dickinson and others.

Woman In Science, H. J. Mozans (pseud.) John Augustus Zahm. Appleton, 1913. Has an introduction on woman's long struggle for the things of the mind.

Woman and Social Culture, Anna Garlin Spencer. Kennerly, 1913. Relates the various phases of women's modern development in a very helpful manner.

Woman and Social Progress, Scott and Nellie M. S. Nearing. Macmillan, 1912. A discussion of the biologic, domestic, industrial and social possibilities of American women.

Woman Who Spends, The, a study of her Economic Function, with a foreword by Ellen H. Richards. Whitcomb and Barrows, 1910.

Woman and Tomorrow, W. L. George. Jenkins, 1913.

Women of Tomorrow, The, William Hard. Doubleday Page, 1913.

Woman Through the Ages, 2 vols., illus., Emil Reich. Methuen, 1908. Informative in the historical field.

Women in Primitive Society—Human Marriage and the Problems of Sex

Age of Mother-Power. The position of woman in primitive society, C. G. Hartley Gallichan. Dodd Mead, 1914.

Evolution of the Family and Its Function, The, Mrs. H. D. Bosanquet. Macmillan, 1906.

Evolution of Sex, The, Patrick Geddes and Arthur J. Thomson. Williams and Norgate, 1914.

Old-Fashioned Woman, An. Primitive Fancies About the Sex, Elsie Clews Parsons. Putnam, 1913. The evidence of ethnology.

Woman's Share in Primitive Culture, Otis T. Mason. Appleton, 1902. Goes into great detail regarding the work of woman as the primitive artificer, and agriculturist.

Woman and Womanhood. A Search for Principles, C. W. Saleeby. Kennerly, 1911.

Woman in Modern Society, Earl Barnes. Huebsch, 1912.

Woman, in the Past, Present and Future, August Bebel, translated by Meta L. Stern. Boni-Liveright, 1918. There are many good translations from the original German "Die Frau." When it was first published, an epoch-making book, and remarkable today.

Pure Sociology. A treatise on the origin and spontaneous development of society, Lester F. Ward. Macmillan, 1903. The celebrated Fourteenth Chapter contains his argument that woman is the race.

History of Human Marriage, Edward Westermarck. Macmillan, 1891. An excellent history of the entire subject.

History of Matrimonial Institutions. Chiefly in England and the United States, with an introductory analysis of the literature and theories of primitive marriage, George E. Howard. University of Chicago Press, 1904. If you can read only one book discussing the history of the relations of the sexes, read this.

Love and Ethics, Ellen Key. Huebsch, 1911. One of the most mature of her works.

Love and Marriage, Ellen Key. Putnam, 1911. Translated from the Swedish by A. G. Chater. Has critical and biographical introduction by Havelock Ellis.

Love's Coming of Age, Edward Carpenter. Swan Sonnenschein, 1916, London. One of the most exquisite treaties on the relation of the sexes that has ever been written.

Man and Woman. A Study, Havelock Ellis. Scribner, 1911.

Marriage as a Trade, Cicely Hamilton. Chapman and Hall, London, 1907. A book that the war has not made out of date.

Problems of the Sexes, Jean Finot. Translated from the French by Mary E. Safford. Putnam, 1913.

Sex and Character, Otto Weiniger. Translated from the 6th German edition. Putnam, 1906. Entirely opposed to the modern feminist movement.

Sex and Society. Studies in the Social Psychology of Sex, W. I. Thomas. University of Chicago Press, 1907.

American Marriage Laws in Their Social Aspects—A Digest, Fred S. Hall and Elizabeth W. Brooke. Russell Sage Foundation, 1919. Mary Richmond writes the foreword. It could have no better guarantee.

Woman Suffrage

Case for Woman Suffrage, The, Margaret Ladd Franklin. National College Suffrage League. An extensive bibliography of books, magazine articles, pamphlets, and printed speeches

on woman's suffrage, sold by National American Woman's Suffrage Association, 1913, New York City.

Subjection of Women, The, John Stuart Mill. First published 1869; reprinted Longmans, 1906. "Still far and away the best argument for woman suffrage."

Vindication of the Rights of Women, A, Mary Wollstonecraft. Fisher-Unwin, 1891, London. Latest edition, has an introduction by Millicent Garrett Fawcett.

Short History of Women's Rights from the Days of Augustus to the Present Time (with special reference to England and the United States), Eugene R. Hecker. Putnam, 1910. One of the best authorities.

Woman Suffrage, History, Arguments, Results, Frances M. Bjorkman and Annie G. Porritt. National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co., 1917.

Modern Woman's Rights Movement—A Historical Survey, Kathe Schirmacher, translated by K. C. Eckhardt. Macmillan, 1912.

History of Woman Suffrage, The, vol. I (1848-1861) and vol. II (1861-1876), edited by Susan B. Anthony and Matilda Joselyn Gage. Vol. III (1876-1885) and vol. IV (1885-1900) edited by Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper. Fowler and Wells, N. Y., 1912. The fifth and concluding volume is in the press.

Suffrage in the United States, Kirk H. Porter. University of Chicago Press, 1918. A legal and constitutional history and analysis.

Woman Movement in America, The. A short account of the struggle for equal rights, V. Belle Squire. McClurg, 1911.

Eighty Years and More, Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Unwin, 1898.

Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, Ida H. Harper. Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1899. A story of the evolution of the status of women.

Julia Ward Howe and the Woman Suffrage Movement, Florence Howe Hall. Dana Estes, 1913.

Story of a Pioneer, Anna H. Shaw, in collaboration with Elizabeth Jordan. Harper, 1915. Intensely interesting.

Woman Suffrage by Constitutional Amendment, Henry St. George Tucker. Yale University Press, 1916.

Equal Suffrage in Colorado, Helen L. Sumner. Harpers, 1909.

Way Stations, Elizabeth Robins. Dodd Mead, 1913. The militant suffrage movement in England.

Prisons and Prisoners. Some Personal Experiences, Lady Constance Lytton and Jane Warton (her name in prison). Doran, 1914. What the English militants endured.

British Freewomen, Their Lost Privilege, Mrs. C. Carmichael Stopes. Sonnenschein, 1909. A review of political rights formerly possessed by high-born women.

The Suffragette, Sylvia Pankhurst. The Woman's Journal, 1911.

Rebel Women, Evelyn Sharp. John Lane Co., N. Y., 1910.

The Case for Woman Suffrage. Edited by Brougham Villiers. T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1907.

My Own Story, Mrs. Pankhurst. Hearst International Library, 1914.

Unexpurgated Case Against Woman Suffrage, The, Sir Almroth E. Wright. Constable, 1913. In this the author, a British surgeon, goes to the most offensive extreme in his opposition to the woman movement.

Ladies' Battle, The, Mollie E. Seawell. Macmillan, 1911. Anti-suffrage.

Women in Japan

(*Continued from page* 67)

higher in the summer of 1918. To these fisherwomen struggling with hard necessity the government seemed most unsympathetic and added to their troubles by advising the use of substitutes, which the Japanese dislike as much as we. It is easy to imagine these fisherwomen goaded into a fine rage, not only by the constantly increasing cost of living, but also by the reproaches of their menfolks when they returned home and were served with hated substitutes for their beloved rice. When the women felt they could stand it no longer they began a riot which spread like wildfire over the entire country and which cost the government a pretty penny before it was stopped. The results of this revolt gave the women a realization of what they could do and how much their influence was needed along certain lines. Consequently a great strengthening of the Suffrage party, which is now pushing not only the enfranchisement of women, but various other legislation such as the requiring of health certificates to accompany marriage licenses.

In appearance and manner Japanese women still give the effect of feminine helplessness. But in political reality they are now among the independent intellectual and well educated women of the world. Indications are that it won't be long before we hear that our physically far away, but mentally very near sisters have won Votes for Women in this forward looking country of the East. And when that happens at this point at least East will have met West.

Anne Calvert Neely.

The Second Round

(*Continued from page* 63)

ernment at the moment when real representation is on the verge of realization. There is the danger that this country, in attempting to solve the urgent problem of economic production and distribution, may so delegate the authority of its representative parliament that control passes into the hands of occupational rather than territorial groups. It is quite easy and not very pleasant to visualize a society in which economic and political power are concentrated in the hands of the producer of wealth by virtue of his contribution to production. It would, of course, at the same time, be a community in which social and political values were determined primarily by the interests of the producers, and in such determination only a minority of women, for the most part unmarried women, would play their part as producers of economic wealth.

We do not want our readers to regard this evil prophecy as involving any condemnation of modern industrial tendencies. It is not our business to express several opinions on the principle which lies at the back of the Guild Socialist program and which leads many people to question the efficacy of representative government on the old territorial basis to which we have grown accustomed. But we must realize that transference of political or economical power to the producer by virtue of his or her occupation, has got to carry with it frank recognition of the fact that the vast majority of women are engaged in an occupation which is every whit as important, every whit as laborious, every whit as dangerous as the production of coal, or any other type of economic wealth.

The contemplation of this second danger and the pigeonholing of an adequate plan of campaign to be developed in the event of its looming greater, constitutes in itself a large enough problem of thought to keep our fighting forces solid. It may be that the worst part of our struggle is still ahead.

History of the Amendment

In Congress

Drafted
By Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced
January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.
1919, Unanimously favorably.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.
1918, Favorable majority.
1919, Favorable majority.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 25 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

October 1, 1918, yeas 54, nays 30, failing by 2 of the two-thirds vote.

February 10, 1919, yeas 55, nays 29, failing by 1 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

June 4, 1919, yeas 56, nays 25, passing by 2 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

January 10, 1918. Yeas 274, nays 136, passing by 1 vote over necessary two-thirds majority.

May 21, 1919. Yeas 304, nays 89, passing by 42 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

Ratification to Date

States Which Have Ratified the Amendment

(Those starred ratified at Special Sessions).

		Gov.	Legis.		VOTE Senate	VOTE House
1	Wisconsin	R	R	June 10	24–1	54–2
2	*Michigan	R	R	June 10	Unan.	Unan.
3	*Kansas	R	R	June 16	Unan.	Unan.
4	*Ohio	D	R	June 16	27–3	73–6
5	*New York	D	R	June 16	Unan.	Unan.
6	Illinois	R	R	June 17	Unan.	133–4
7	Pennsylvania	R	R	June 24	32–6	153–44
8	Massachusetts	R	R	June 25	34–5	184–77
9	*Texas	D	D	June 29	Unan.	96–21
10	*Iowa	R	R	July 2	Unan.	95–5
11	*Missouri	D	Div.'d.	July 3	28–3	125–4
12	*Arkansas	D	D	July 20	20–2	76–17
13	*Montana	D	R	July 30	38–1	Unan.
14	*Nebraska	R	R	Aug. 2	Unan.	Unan.
15	*Minnesota	R	R	Sept. 8	60–5	120–6
16	*New Hampshire	R	R	Sept. 10	14–10	212–143
17	*Utah	D	D	Sept. 30	Unan.	Unan.
18	*California	R	R	Nov. 1	Unan.	73–2
19	*Maine	R	R	Nov. 5	24–5	72–68
20	*North Dakota	R	R	Dec. 1	38–4	103–6
21	*South Dakota	R	R	Dec. 4	Unan.	Unan.
22	*Colorado	R	R	Dec. 12	Unan.	Unan.
23	Rhode Island	R	R	Jan. 6	37–1	89–3
24	Kentucky	R	Div'd.	Jan. 6	30–8	72–25
25	*Oregon	R	R	Jan. 12	Unan.	Unan.
26	*Indiana	R	R	Jan. 16	43–3	Unan.
27	*Wyoming	R	R	Jan. 27	Unan.	Unan.
28	*Nevada	D	Div'd.	Feb. 7	Unan.	Unan.
29	New Jersey	D	R	Feb. 10	18–2	34–24
30	*Idaho	R	R	Feb. 11	29–6	Unan.
31	*Arizona	R	D	Feb. 12	Unan.	Unan.
32	*New Mexico	R	R	Feb. 19	17–5	36–10
33	*Oklahoma	D	D	Feb. 27		
34	*West Virginia	D	R	March 10	15–14	47–40
35	*Washington	R	R	March 22	Unan.	Unan.

Now in Special Session

Delaware	R	R	Met March 22

States Which Have Defeated the Amendment

		Gov.	Legis.		VOTE Senate	VOTE House
1	Alabama	D	D	Sept. 2	18–13	No vote
2	Georgia	D	D	July 24	39–8	118–20
3	Mississippi	D	D	Jan. 21	23–22(For)	96–23
4	South Carolina	D	D	Jan. 24	No vote	93–21
5	Virginia	D	D	Feb. 12	24–10	62–22
6	Maryland	D	D	Feb. 17	18–9	64–36

States Which Have Not Acted

		Gov.	Legis.	
1	Connecticut	R	R	No regular session this year.
2	Vermont	R	R	No regular session this year.
3	North Carolina	D	D	Special session in July.
4	Louisiana	D	D	Regular session in May, 1920.

States Which Cannot Take Action This Year

(Because of Constitutional Provision requiring election to intervene between submission of and action on an amendment).

		Gov.	Legis.	
1	Florida	D	D	Majority of legislature asked Congress to pass amendment.
2	Tennessee	D	D	Presidential suffrage state.